C. Gaston Pickman

3. October 1850

Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae

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OR OCCASIONAL OFFICES OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND ACCORDING TO THE ANCIENT USE OF SALISBURY THE PRYMER IN ENGLISH AND OTHER PRAYERS AND FORMS WITH DISSERTATIONS AND NOTES

BY THE REV. WILLIAM MASKELL M.A.

IN THREE VOLUMES

VOL. III.

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TO THE RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

EDWARD,

LORD BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

My Lord,

THERE are obvious reasons why I should neither venture, nor presume, to obtrude more than the mere expression of my earnest sense of the many benefits which have followed your Lordship's unwearied labours in the Diocese, over which, by the Divine Permission, you have been placed.

I was made deacon, and ordained to the priesthood, by your Lordship: since that time, with the exception of a very brief interval, I have exercised the duties of my office, and resided, in this Diocese. And now, as an acknowledgment, at least most sincere, of gratitude for much and long continued kindness, I gladly avail myself of the permission which has been given me, and would humbly dedicate these volumes to your Lordship.

Dedication.

I should be rejoiced to hope, that this work may seem to approve itself to your Lordship's judgment, as answering in some degree, though imperfectly, the end at which I have aimed; namely, the illustration of our Common Prayer Book from ancient documents, and its original sources.

I pray that it may please God, long to bless your Lordship with every spiritual and good gift: and I am, with feelings of deep respect and attachment,

My Lord,

Your most faithful and obliged servant,

WILLIAM MASKELL.

May 10th, 1847.

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A

Preliminary Dissertation upon the Offices of Coronation, Ordination, Consecration of Bishops, etc.

Preliminary Dissertation.

CHAPTER I.

THE consecration of sovereigns by the ministers of religion, reaches to an antiquity higher than the Christian æra: but I need not enter here into the history of the unction and coronation of the ancient Jewish kings. The accounts which we have in the Sacred Scriptures will readily occur to the recollection of the reader;[1] and if he would enquire further, there are many writers who, having investigated that part of the subject, will afford him very full information upon it.[2]

S. Augustine has declared that the anointing of kings was a rite always peculiar to the people of God: and not adopted at any time by the heathens. "Unctus est," he says, "Deus a Deo: unctum audis, Christum intellige: etenim Christus a chrismate. Hoc nomen quod appellatur Christus, unctionis est: nec in aliquo alibi ungebantur reges et sacerdotes, nisi in illo regno,

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[1] The reader will not forget the remarkable parable of Jotham, in the Book of Judges: and the speech given to the bramble.

[2] Besides the authors more usually referred to, the student will do well to consult the 8th ch. §. 1. of Selden's *Titles of Honour*, and the third book of Scacchus, *Sacrorum elæochrismatwn myrothecia*.

ubi Christus prophetabatur et ungebatur, et unde venturum erat Christi nomen: nusquam alibi omnino, in nulla gente, in nullo regno."[3]

We know not who was the first Christian prince, either anointed or crowned by the bishops of the Church. Theodosius the younger is supposed to have been the first, who was crowned by the patriarch of Constantinople; and Habertus acknowledges that he cannot find any authority for such a solemnization before his time: A. D. 408. "Nemo mihi a patriarcha coronatus legitur ante Theodosium jun. de quo Theodorus Lector, *lib.* 2. *ὁ νέος Θεοδόσιος στεφθεὶς ὑπο του Πρόκλου πατριάρχου*."[4] Shortly after the time of that emperor there appears to be little reason to question the fact, in the case of the emperor Justin: concerning whom Baronius quotes an epistle from John, the then patriarch of Constantinople: "Ideo coronam gratiæ super eum cœlitus declinavit, ut affluenter in sacrum caput ejus misericordia funderetur: omnique annuntiationis ejus tempore cum magna voce Deum omnium Principem glorificaverunt, quoniam talem verticem manibus meis tali corona decoravit."[5]

But before this date, we have the famous history of Clovis in the West, of whom it has been asserted, that he was both crowned, and anointed.[6] And more than

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[3] *Enarrat.* cit. Habert. *Pontif. Græc. p.* 626.

[4] *Pontif. Græc. p.* 627.

[5] Annal. *an.* 519. Compare the account of the second coronation of the same emperor, by pope John I. in the Liber pontif. *tom.* 1. *p.* 192.

[6] For there seems to be no evidence, that in the earliest coronations of the Greek emperors, unction formed a part of the solemnity. It has been supposed so: but the proof appears to rest upon an expression of Onuphrius, cited by Selden. "Constantinopoli, vel sub Justiniano, vel post ejus statim obitum, electioni imperatoris addi-

this: that the sacred oil was brought down by an angel from heaven, for that purpose. The story however would prove too much, and as a result which may rather have been anticipated, the enquiry which has been made into the truth of the miracle, has cast more than doubt upon even the coronation of Clovis. For the evidence in proof of the miraculous oil, must be set down as worthless: the best authors of the sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries, men who, one or the other, would have undoubtedly spoken of it, if it had been true, say not a word upon the matter: and until, at last, the legend begins to be heard of, the oil is mentioned in connexion, not with the coronation, but with the baptism of Clovis.[7] The writers of those ages immediately succeeding the supposed miracle, speak frequently of the chrism with which Clovis was anointed, and call it "holy" or "sacred chrism:" but this, in the same sense in which they would have spoken of all chrism, and not as having been in any way miraculously provided. Thus, to quote one of them, and

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tum, ut quum primum imperator renuntiatus esset, a patriarcha Constantinopolitano in magna Byzantii basilica oleo unctus diademate aureo redimeretur." *De comitiis Imperatoriis. cap.* 2.

[7] The whole legend of the coronation of Clovis may be probably attributed to a perverted tradition of his baptism and confirmation: in the same way as it has been asserted, that our king Alfred was anointed king at Rome, by Leo IV. In which latter case we have very considerable authority: viz. his contemporary Asser, Malmesbury, Hoveden, and others. But still it must be referred to his confirmation, which they relate did also take place: for it is scarcely credible that he should so long beforehand, as a child, with two elder brothers, and in his father's life-time, be anointed for a king. See Selden, *Titles of Honour*, *p.* 115. and the authors cited by him.

almost a contemporary: "Rex omnipotentem Dominum in Trinitate confessus, baptizatus est a sancto Remigio, in nomine Patris, *etc.*——et sacro chrismate delibutus cum signaculo crucis."[8]

But towards the end of the ninth century, nearly four hundred years after the baptism of Clovis, an archbishop of Rheims, Hincmar, claimed for the holy oil the honour of having been miraculously sent down from heaven. I place his account in the note below:[9] and extract here from his Capitular the assertion, also first made by him, that Clovis was anointed with this to be emperor; he is speaking of Charles the Bald. "Sanctæ memoriæ pater suus Hludowicus pius, imperator augustus, ex progenie Hludowici (*Clodoveum intelligit*) regis Francorum inclyti, per beati Remigii Francorum apostoli catholicam prædicationem cum integra gente conversi, et cum tribus Francorum millibus, vigilia sancti Paschæ in Remensi metropoli bap-

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[8] Rorico Monachus. *in Chronico. lib.* 2.

[9] *Hincmar in vita S. Remigii.* "Cum vero pervenissent ad baptisterium, clericus, qui chrisma ferebat, a populo est interceptus, ut ad fontem venire nequiverit. Sanctificato autem fonte, nutu divino chrisma defuit. Et quia propter populi pressuram ulli non patebat egressus vel ingressus ecclesiæ, sanctus pontifex, oculis ac manibus protensis in cœlum, cœpit tacite orare cum lacrymis. Et ecce subito columba nive candidior attulit in rostro ampullulam chrismate sancto repletam, cujus odore mirifico super omnes odores, quos ante in baptisterio senserant, omnes qui aderant inæstimabili suavitate repleti sunt. Accipiente autem sancto pontifice ipsam ampullulam, species columbæ disparuit. De quo chrismate fudit venerandus episcopus in fontem sacratum. Viso autem rex tanto miraculo, abnegatis diaboli pompis et operibus ejus, petiit se a sancto pontifice baptizari, *etc.* Et susceptus ab ipso pontifice de sacro fonte, perunctus est sacro chrismate, cum signo sanctæ crucis Domini nostri Jesu Christi." *Apud Surium*, 13 Januarii.

tizati, et cœlitus sumpto chrismate, unde adhuc habemus, peruncti, et in regem sacrati, exhortus, *etc.*"

Now, not only would we naturally look with some suspicion upon a history of an event, whether miraculous or not, so long after its supposed occurrence, but with that suspicion encreased, if it came from a quarter likely to be personally interested in the matter. Hincmar was archbishop of Rheims: and sixteen archbishops had occupied that see between S. Remigius and himself, of not one of whom can it be proved, that he had ever heard of such a miracle. But more than this: the account he gives us is full of errors: Hincmar says that Clovis was baptized in the metropolitan church; a contemporary of the king, Nicetius bishop of Treves, declares that it took place in the church of S. Martin:[10]—and again, that it was on the vigil of Easter Day; but another contemporary, Avitus, bishop of Vienna, declares that it was upon Christmas Eve.

So that, as the supposed history of the oil used at the coronation of the kings of France (that it was first provided from heaven for Clovis, and afterwards no less miraculously preserved, without wasting, at Rheims), rests upon no better or earlier authority than that of Hincmar in the ninth century, who was ignorant of the facts of the case, we must conclude that the whole is a mere story, unworthy of the least credit. Nor should I have delayed to examine it, even so shortly, had it not been for the general reception with which it

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[10] *Epist. ad Clodoswindam.* cit. Chifletio, *de ampulla Remensi nova disquisitio.* A learned treatise; in which the writer points out other errors in the archbishop's story, which are scarcely required to satisfy the reader, and I have omitted them.

has been received, and the attempts by some to prove, that on account of this miraculous oil, the French kings have a precedence over other sovereigns.

There appears to be sufficient evidence, that the rite of anointing, can be traced higher with respect to the kings and princes of England, than of any other country. And I do not see, how it could be disproved, if one was inclined to assert that the ceremony took its origin from our own forefathers; and was from them adopted into the ceremonial of other churches. For, not only are the coronation of Clovis, and his unction with any oil, though not miraculous, incapable of being substantiated, but it has been confessed by very learned writers, that Pepin, in the eighth century, was the first French king who was anointed. Thus, Selden says; "the first testimony that is worthy of credit for any unction of their kings, is that which the stories have of king Pepin. So say Regino, Sigebert, Siffridus, and enough others of the antients."[11] And Chifletius; "Pipinus omnium Franciæ regum primus, imitatus Judæorum reges, ut se sacra unctione venerabiliorem augustioremque faceret, semel atque iterum ungi voluerit."[12]

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[11] *Titles of honour, p.* 113.

[12] *P.* 30. citing, "*Fauchetus in Pipino.*" Pepin more probably imitated the already fixed custom of the Anglo-saxon Church.

I extract also the following from Martene, whose judgment, learning, and candour, upon every question which he has investigated, are equally to be praised. "Longe tardius in Galliis reges solemnem episcoporum benedictionem suscepisse videntur, quippe ante Pippinum qui Suessione a Moguntino archiepiscopo Bonifacio unctus est in regem, nullus ab episcopis benedictus legitur: sed omnes ut regni imperium adepti erant, a populis clypeo evecti, reges constituebantur. Observat Mabillonius, post Valesium, solitos tum fuisse Francorum optimates ad constituendum regem convenisse, singulosque in electi verba jurasse,

But before the coronation of Pepin, the pontifical of archbishop Egbert was the service-book of at least

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traditaque in manum hasta pro sceptro, excelso in solio honorifice imposuisse." *De ant. ecc. rit. tom.* 2. *p.* 212.

D'Achery, in the *Spicilegium*, has printed an ancient treatise upon the office and duties of kings, addressed to Pepin by Jonas, bishop of Orleans at that time. It is entitled "Opusculum de institutione regia." *Tom.* 1. *p.* 327. In the same collection, is another treatise of a like kind, written by Smaragdus, an abbot, in the viijth century: the "Via regia." *ibid. p.* 238. Both these deserve the attention of the student.

About the same time, in England, A. D. 785, the famous council of Chalcuith devoted two canons to the exposition of the duties incumbent upon kings: viz. the xith "De officio regum:" and the xijth "De ordinatione et honore regum." *Concilia. tom.* 1. *p.* 148.

There is a book which has obtained, most unworthily, the credit of a considerable reputation, namely, a history of the ceremonies of French coronations by "Monsieur Menin, counsellor to the parliament of Metz." 8vo. 1727. I regret to have seen it mentioned, without condemnation, by so respectable an author, as Mr. Taylor, in the preface to his "Glory of Regality:" a work which exhibits some amount of enquiry. However, this M. Menin sums up his history in these words: and I need scarcely explain to the reader that he has expressed his belief in the miraculous oil of Clovis. "The kings of France have not only the happiness of being the first converts to the Christian faith, but they have likewise the advantage to derive only from God himself the institution of the ceremony of their anointing, which has been conveyed down to other Christian princes, many ages after, from their pattern." *p.* 201.

I cannot conclude this note, without extracting upon the subject of it, important as it is, the opinion of the learned ritualist, Catalani: and I the rather do so, as the reader's attention will be drawn by the passage, to another case, upon which I do not think it necessary to enter further; I mean, the benediction of Aidan, by S. Columba. Catalani says: "Certe Edmundus Martenius, ubi agit de solemni regum benedictione, floccipendens fabulosam Clodovei unctionem, ingenue fatetur, antiquissimam omnium benedictionem regum, quas inter legendum ipsi reperire licuit, eam fuisse, quæ a Columba facta est jussu angeli in Aidanum Scotorum regem, cujus meminit Cume-

that part of England, over which he was placed, and the rite of unction, as the reader will see below, is especially ordered by it to form a part of the solemnity of a coronation: and long before even that time, during the existence of the earlier British Church, we have this testimony in Gildas: "ungebantur reges, et non per Deum, sed qui cæteris crudeliores exstarent; et paulo post ab unctoribus, non pro veri examinatione, trucidabantur, aliis electis trucioribus."[13]

This place in Gildas, is certainly (as Selden urges) not open to any objection which might be brought, from the use of a phrase of later acceptation and meaning than the fact related: as in the relation by Malmesbury of the coronation of Egferth, in the year 785, the first of which any account has come down to us. He writes after unction had become a settled part of the solemnity: and says, speaking of Offa, the father of Egferth; "dulci vitam consumpsit otio, et Egfertum filium, ante mortem suam, in regem inunctum, successorem dimisit."[14] And even as regards this expression as used by Malmesbury, it is an argument of very great

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neus Albus in vita S. Columbæ. Sed ea supponit quidem hunc ritum jam usu receptum; nam ait, angelum Domini ad dictum abbatem missum, 'qui in manu vitreum ordinationis regum habebat librum.' Quæ verba plane innuunt, jam antea reges ordinatos fuisse." The sentence from Martene, which I have given above, is then quoted, and Catalani continues. "Id ipsum tradit alius scriptor Gallus Franciscus Pagius in vita S. Zachariæ Papæ, ubi ita scribit: 'Et quidem Pippinus videtur esse primus ex Francorum regibus, qui unctus est in regem.' Ex quorum testimonio facile confutantur ii Galliæ scriptores, qui contendunt, primos fuisse Galliæ reges, qui rite ab episcopo consecrarentur, ad eorumque exemplum cæteros reges sacro oleo ungi cœpisse." *Comment. in pontif. Rom. tom.* 1. *p.* 384.

[13] *Hist.* §. 21.

[14] *De gest. reg. Angliæ. lib.* 1. *cap.* 5.

weight, in favour of its strict interpretation, that the Saxon Chronicle employs the same phrase: and declares that Egferth was "hallowed to king:" "⁊ Ecȝveрð ꞇo cẏnınȝe ȝehalȝoꝺ." This is the earliest coronation alluded to in that chronicle; in other instances the accession only is mentioned;[15] and I do not see any reason why we should not conclude that unction, in its proper sense, as ordered by the pontifical of Egbert, formed one of the solemn rites of the first known English coronation.

Having thus spoken somewhat of unction, as connected with the records, real or pretended, of the most ancient coronations, it will be as well to collect here some more observations bearing upon that important part of the solemnity.

We have a very remarkable proof of the view in which the anointing of kings was regarded in the thirteenth century, as explained and insisted on, by the highest ecclesiastical authority at that time recognized in this country, in a letter from pope John XXII. to Robert Bruce, king of Scotland. After speaking of some of the duties incumbent upon kings, he thus proceeds: "— ad quæ utique perfectius exercenda, iidem reges unctionis sacræ virtute, quam per venerabiles Dei ministros antiquo more suscipiunt, donum gratiæ recipiunt potioris, ut et in prosecutione justi regiminis fortius convalescant, et tam in se, quam in eorum subditos prudentiori et sanctiori spiritu dirigantur. Vehemens namque est in iisdem regibus hujusmodi effi-

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[15] Taylor. *Glory of regality*. *p*. 228. Who remarks also, that Florence of Worcester notices the same event, in similar words: "Et Egferthus, ejusdem regis natus, rex est consecratus." *Sub an*. 785.

cacia unctionis. Nam inuncto Saule, insiliit Spiritus Domini super eum, et in virum alterum est mutatus; et in David, unctione suscepta, Spiritus Domini est directus: ad insinuandum quoque, quod in regibus esse debeat plenitudo virtutum, et integra dominii temporalis auctoritas."[16]

Before this, archbishop Thomas Becket had written to king Henry II. to this effect: "Inunguntur reges in capite, etiam pectore et brachiis, quod significat gloriam, sanctitatem, et fortitudinem."[17] And not long after, Robert Grossetest, bishop of Lincoln, to Henry III. "Quod autem in fine literæ vestræ nobis mandastis, videlicet quod intimaremus quid unctionis sacramentum videatur adjicere regiæ dignitati, cum multi sunt reges qui nullatenus unctionis munere decorentur, non est nostræ modicitatis complere hoc. Tamen non ignoramus quod regalis inunctio signum est prærogativæ susceptionis septiformis doni Sacratissimi Pneumatis, quo septiformi munere tenetur rex inunctus præeminentius non unctis regibus omnes regias et regiminis sui actiones dirigere: *etc.*" Selden, who

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[16] Wilkins: *Concilia. tom.* 2. *p.* 555. The same bull speaks also of the crown: "Capiti principis sub circulari forma honorabile imponitur diadema, ut ab eo, qui talibus fuerit decoratus insigniis, et titulis præsignitus, tanquam a capite, subditis, velut membris, recte vivendi modus et modestiæ regula indicatur." I must add, that this bull is not the composition of John XXII. as it occurs, almost word for word, in an epistle from Alexander IV. to a bishop of Prague in the preceding century. But this does not affect the reason for which I have quoted it.

[17] Apud *Matt. Paris.* cit. Selden. *p.* 109.

A very great canonist says: "Effectus unctionis regalis est, ut augeatur ei gratia ad officium, quod ei committitur exercendum: et ut honorabilior habeatur." Hostiensis, *in summa. lib.* 1. *tit.* de sacr. unct.

quotes this from a MS. observes, and not rightly, that the bishop was answering as if his mind had been only on the unction given in confirmation.

It was from having been anointed with the sacred oil that our kings have received the style "Dei gratia:" which, as an old author of the 14th century, cited by Selden,[18] tells us, could not be given to any one else of the laity. "Nota, quod nullus potest proprie uti isto verbo *Dei Gratia*, qui in laicali positus est dignitate, nisi sit imperator vel rex vel alter qui sui capitis recepit unctionem. Nam tales unguntur oleo sancto; et in rege potest dici evidentissime per exemplum." And this affords an additional, though incidental, proof how early the rite of unction had become a fixed form, in the coronation of the Saxon kings, not only in the north, as is shewn by the pontifical of archbishop Egbert, but in the west of England. For Ina's ecclesiastical laws, A.D. 700, commence with this style: "Ego Ina Dei gratia occiduorum Saxonum rex."[19]

Selden also cites and remarks upon the rule laid down in the "old Provinciale Romanum," as to the number of sovereign princes, who were entitled to be anointed: and although the copies vary, some having four kings named, and others less, yet, as he concludes, the true reading of the rule was, that the kings of England, Jerusalem, France, and Sicily, were alone so entitled. It would seem from Hostiensis, (who, by the way, names only England and France,) in the place just cited in the note, that when the kings

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[18] *Titles of honour*. p. 92. The "*Rosula Novella*" of Petrus de Boateriis.

[19] Wilkins. *Concilia. Tom.* 1. p. 58. "Ic Ine miꝺ Goꝺeꞅ ᵹiꝼe ƿeꞅ-ꞇ axna cẏning."

of other countries desired to be anointed, special permission was to be obtained from the see of Rome: "si quis de novo inungi velit, consuetudo obtinuit, quod a papa petatur, sicut fecit rex Aragonum, et quotidie instat rex Scotiæ." Regarding the case of the king of Scotland, the bull mentioned above, was directed to him, on such an occasion: and we have in Matthew Paris an instance of a legate sent to anoint Haco, king of Norway, in 1247. "Applicuit similiter in Anglia episcopus Sabinensis, iturus in partes boreales legatus, —et regem Norwegiæ Haconem in regem inuncturus et coronaturus."[20]

The anointing was always held to confer sacredness upon the person of the sovereign: and for this we have the authority of S. Augustine, who speaks however of the earlier unction of the Jewish kings: but the argument is the same. "Quæro, si non habebat Saul sacramenti sanctitatem, quid in eo David venerabatur? Si autem habebat innocentiam, quare innocentem persequebatur? nam eum propter sacrosanctam unctionem, et honoravit vivum, et vindicavit occisum: et quia vel panniculum ex ejus veste præscidit, percusso corde trepidavit. Ecce Saul non habebat innocentiam, et tamen habebat sanctitatem, non

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[20] *Hist. Angl. p.* 637. Matthew Paris mentions this again. "Anno sub eodem—coronatus est rex Haco, et in regem inunctus solemniter apud Bergas." *p.* 643. And the same mode of expression is used by Matthew of Westminster: "Die vero sanctorum Felicis *etc.*, inunctus et coronatus est in regem princeps Norwegiæ Haco." *Flores Hist.* edit. 1601. *p.* 340. Either this was then thought an unusual case, or the king of Norway is to be added to the number of the ancient anointed kings: which last is scarcely probable, from the fact of the legate, who was sent to crown him.

vitæ suæ (nam hoc sine innocentia nemo potest) sed sacramenti Dei, quod et in malis hominibus sanctum est."[21]

The reader will observe that S. Augustine calls the regal unction in the above passage, a sacrament: nor, relying upon his authority, does there appear to be any objection to the use of so high a term, in the same wide sense in which we speak of the sacrament of orders, or of marriage. So also S. Gregory the Great says expressly: "Quia vero ipsa unctio sacramentum est, is qui promovetur, bene foris ungitur, si intus virtute sacramenti roboretur."[22] "Rex unctus," says Lyndwood, "non mere persona laica, sed mixta secundum quosdam."[23] But this anointing must not be

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[21] *Contra litt. Petiliani.* lib. ij. cap. 112.

[22] *Expos. lib.* 1. *Regum cap.* x. Balsamon, in his scholia on the 12th canon of the council of Ancyra, has not feared to go much further, as to the effects of this unction. But his interpretation of the canon is condemned, and very justly, by all later writers on the subject. He says: "Præsenti canone usus ille sanctissimus patriarcha dominus Polyeuctus:—dixit enim cum sancta synodo, in synodalibus actis quæ tunc habita fuerunt, quæ in Chartaphylacio reponuntur, quod quoniam sancti baptismatis unctio omnia, quæ ante baptismum fuerunt, qualia et quantacunque sunt, peccata delet; omnino imperatoris quoque unctio cædem delevit." Bevereg. *Pandect. Tom.* 1. *p.* 385. The case alluded to is that of the Emperor John Tzimisches, who had slain his predecessor.

Upon the distinction laid down in the 12th century, between the regal and sacerdotal unction, see *Raynaldus, Tom.* 1. ad. an. 1204. xlj. And on its effect, Hostiensis, *Summæ. lib.* 1. *rubr.* xv. 11. Scacchi, *Elæochr. Sacr. p.* 1074.

[23] *Lib.* 3. *tit.* 2. Ut clericalis. *verb.* beneficiati: cited by archdeacon Wilberforce, *Church Courts, p.* 93. and see a remarkable assertion, made by Charles the Bold, [Bald?] 859, upon the sanctity of kings, in consequence of their consecration by bishops. *ibid. p.* 30.

looked upon, neither ever has it been, as conferring any sacerdotal right or privilege: the sovereigns of England are supreme in all cases whether ecclesiastical or civil, as in the one, so in the other,[24] both before and after the solemnity of the coronation; nor are their prerogatives increased by its performance, or hindered by its delay: and as before they have no power, so neither after the regal unction have they any right or authority, to minister the sacraments, or the Word of God.[25]

Before we proceed to other matters connected with the service of the coronation, I must take notice, that in this country also as well as in France, the posses-

[24] One of the ecclesiastical laws of S. Edward the Confessor is entitled, "*Quid sit regis officium:*" and begins, "Rex autem, qui vicarius summi regis est, ad hoc est constitutus, ut regnum terrenum, et populum Domini, et super omnia sanctam veneretur ecclesiam ejus, et regat." Wilkins, *Concilia. Tom.* 1. *p.* 312. And compare the 2nd of the Anglo-saxon Institutes: "Of an earthly king." Thorpe, *Ancient Laws and Institutes. Vol.* 2. *p.* 305.

[25] It was an ancient custom, now omitted in the Roman pontifical, that the emperor, after his consecration, should attend upon the pontif, as a subdeacon, during the celebration of the mass. Thus the old "Liber sacrarum cærimoniarum" directs, after the coronation is over, and the offertory concluded: "Imperator pontificem ad altare descendentem sequitur, et illi in locum subdiaconi calicem, et patenam cum hostiis offert, deinde aquam infundendam in vino." *Lib.* 1. *p.* 25. edit. *Rom.* 1560. But this would seem to be a relic from those earlier times when actual offerings and oblations were made by all the laity, at the celebration of the Holy Eucharist. The reader should consult however Thomassin, *de Benef. Pars.* 1. *lib.* 3. *cap.* lxiv., in which place he will find full information about another custom, introduced and common in many nations, that the newly consecrated prince should be admitted a canon of some cathedral church. See also Ducange. *verb.* "Canonici honorarii."

sion of a miraculous oil has been claimed, and use made of it upon at least one occasion. If it should be thought that the evidence for this miracle is little better than that, before examined, of K. Clovis, I shall not argue against such an opinion, but leave the reader to form his own conclusion.

The facts, if they may be so called, are as follows, in the words of Walsingham. "Die translationis sancti Edwardi regis et confessoris, coronatus est rex Henricus IV.,—unctus est illo cœlesti unguento, quod olim beata Maria, mater Dei, commisit beato Thomæ martyri arch. Cantuar. dum esset in exilio conservandum, prædicens eidem, quod reges Anglorum, qui ungerentur hoc unguento, pugiles essent ecclesiæ, et benigni. Hoc unguentum in aquila aurea et ampulla lapidea conservatum latuit per multa tempora, sed tandem miraculose manifestatum. Dum dominus Henricus primus dux Lancastriæ bella gereret regis sui in partibus transmarinis, ipsi nempe tradita fuit prædicta aquila per quendam sanctum virum, qui illum invenerat revelatione divina. Qui dedit eam nobilissimo principi Edwardo, ut in ea unctione post mortem patris ungeretur in regem. Qui posuit in turri Londoniarum unguentum præfatum, recludens in cista multis firmata securis, latuitque ibi vel per oblivionem, vel per negligentiam, usque ad tempus Richardi regis II. Anno Domini prædicto 1399, prædictus rex Richardus curiose perscrutatus res a progenitoribus sibi relictas, inopinato reperit aquilam et ampullam, et scripturam B. Thomæ. Et cum didicisset virtutem talem unctionis, rogavit dominum Thomam Cant. arch. ut eum denuo ungeret hoc unguento. Qui hoc facere omnino recusavit, dicens sibi sufficere, quod semel per manus suas sacram suscepit in coronatione

pristina unctionem, quæ habere non debuit iterationem. Hanc aquilam cum ampulla rex Richardus portavit in Hiberniam, profecturus et denuo rediens in hanc terram. Quam petenti archiepiscopo tradidit, dicens se jam patenter clarescere, quod non fuit voluntatis divinæ, ut ungeretur illo unguento, sed alteri deberi tam nobile sacramentum."[26]

In this story an assertion is said to have been made by the archbishop, which, supposing there was any truth in the matter, all parties must have known to be a falsehood: "quod semel per manus suas sacram suscepit unctionem, quæ habere non debuit iterationem." For there is no fact more certain than that many of our early kings were crowned more than once.[27] To name no more, Henry II., of whom Hoveden tells us, speaking of his third coronation, "Anno gratiæ 1159, idem rex Henricus tertio fecit se, et Alienor uxorem

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[26] *Hist. Angl. p.* 360. Cf. *Ypodigma Neustriæ, p.* 555. And a MS. in the Cotton library. *Faust.* B. ix. It is obvious that this legend was invented in order to supply an hereditary defect, and give additional sacredness to the character of K. Henry IV.: whose doubtful title required something of that kind: and the assertion that his unfortunate predecessor had not been able to obtain unction with the same oil, is a curious circumstance in the tale. I may add, that another version of the same legend is given by Weever, from an old Leiger Book, of the abbey of Whalley. *Funeral Monuments. p.* 200. Weever may generally be relied on, as to his quotations, but he is both an ignorant and an unsafe writer when he does not refer to, or transcribe his authorities.

The rabbinical writers declare, that the ancient Jewish kings were, in like manner, anointed with a holy oil, which had originally been consecrated by Moses, and kept without diminution about 900 years, until the captivity.

[27] Pepin also, of France, was anointed twice: first by S. Boniface, the legate; and again, by the pope himself, Stephen II.: Charlemagne, five times, and Charles the Bald, four times.

suam coronari, in solemnitate paschali apud Wirecestre:" and he adds, (as if the king was fearful of again being tempted) "ubi cum ad oblationem venirent, de posuerunt coronas suas, et eas super altare obtulerunt; voventes Deo, quod nunquam in vita sua de cætero coronarentur."[28] Henry III. also, first at Gloucester, in the year 1216: concerning which Matthew Paris, though he begins by speaking "de prima regis Hen. III. coronatione, quæ per quendam circulum aureum facta sit;" expressly declares, that there was no distinction made as to the anointing: "Et his gestis," he continues, "episcopi, ipsum in regem ungentes, coronaverunt solemniter."[29] And the mass, and royal banquet followed, as was always customary. His second coronation was performed at Westminster, by the archbishop, in 1220: "præsente clero et populo totius regni."[30]

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[28] *Annal. pars posterior*. edit. Savile. *p*. 281. See also Alford's Annals: who remarks: "Est hoc illustre pietatis exemplum, quo reges Regem regum, et Dominum dominantium pietissimo cultu agnoscunt, ad Christi pedes coronam projicientes." *Tom*. IV. *p*. 92. *pars posterior*. A somewhat similar instance of humility is that of Canute, who, after the well-known rebuke of his courtiers at Southampton, would not wear his crown: "Sed super caput crucifixi Wintoniæ posuit." Henr. de Knyghton *de event. Angliæ*. Lib. 1. cap. v. The same is stated by Henr. Huntingdon, *p*. 364, cit. Alford. *Annal. Tom*. 3. *p*. 492. "Super imaginem Domini, quæ cruci affixa erat." In the account given by Gervase, of the second coronation of Richard I., it would seem that the unction was omitted. *Script*. x. *Tom*. 1. *p*. 1587.

[29] *Hist. Angl*. p. 243. And again, especially, a letter of the king himself, printed in Rymer, concerning this first solemnity; "in ecclesia beati Petri Gloucestriæ,—invocata Spiritus Sancti gratia, publice fuimus in regem Angliæ inuncti et coronati." *Tom*. 1. *pars*. 1. *p*. 72.

[30] *Ibid*. p. 260. Holinshed, *Chronicles*. *Vol*. 3. *p*. 202.

There was also a tale attached to a ring of S. Edward: which

It is probable that our kings anciently knelt during the rite of unction, though I do not remember any express order to this effect earlier than the time of Henry VII. "The cardinal sitting, shall anoynte the king, kneeling."[31] So also, in the "devyse" for the coronation of Henry VIII.[32] which I shall have frequent occasion to quote: "The seid cardynall sittyng shall annoynte the king knelyng on quysshyns." On the other hand, it is to be remarked, that in the magnificent MS. of the coronation service of Charles V. of France,[33] the illuminations represent the king, standing, at the anointing of the breast: whilst he kneels, with his vestment unlaced, during the prayers which immediately precede, and kneels again to be anointed on the hands.

After the anointing of the head, a linen coif or

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was taken from his finger by the Confessor, says the Golden Legend, on an occasion when he had no other alms to bestow, "ne hys amener was not present," and given to a poor man, who afterwards proved to be S. John the Evangelist, and who returned the ring. This is gravely related by Ailred, *Script. x. Tom.* 1. *p.* 398, and by Hoveden in his Annals, *edit.* Savile. *p.* 256. Some writers make this ring to have been the one anciently used at coronations: but I do not see upon what grounds. For not only is it certain that such a ring was not always used, if ever; but also that the coronation ring was sometimes afterwards but little regarded. Thus, a royal order of Henry VI., concerning some jewels, mentions, "A ryng of gold, garnyshed with a fayr rubie, sometyme geven unto us by our bel oncle the cardinal of Englande, with the whiche we were sacred in the day of our coronacion at Parys, delivered unto Matthew Phelip, to breke, and thereof to make an other ryng for the Quene's wedding ring." Rymer, *Fædera, Tom.* 5. *pars.* 1. *p.* 139.

[31] Ives' *Select Papers.*

[32] *Cotton MS.* Tiberius. E. viij.

[33] *Cotton MS.* Tiberius. B. viij.

chrismale was put on: and, as the reader will see in the notes to the Service below, this was ordered to be worn for seven days, and on the eighth to be removed by a bishop, or the abbot of Westminster, with the celebration of a proper mass. Ducange does not seem to have been aware of this use of the chrismale, as he explains its purpose only as another name for ampullæ, or coverings for relics, besides its more common acceptation with respect to the newly confirmed: of which I have already spoken in another part of this work.[34] In the old account of the coronation of Henry VI. we find, after the anointing: "And then they leyd a certeyn softe thynge to all the places so annoynted. And on his hede dyd a white coyfe of silk, and so he went and lay viij dayes. And the viijth daye they shuld wasshe it of hym." Also in the "Devyse" for Henry VIII. "He shall put vpon the kyng's hed a coyfe, the same to be broughte to the grete chamberlayne: whiche shall contynuelly abyde on the kings hed to the viijte daye next folowing, at whiche viij. dayes, after a solempne masse seyd by a Bisshop before the king, the seid Bishop shall take the coyf from the kyng's hed."

The consecration of chrism having, since the reformation, been discontinued, holy oil only has been used in succeeding coronations. I am quite unable to say by whom, or according to what office, the benediction of this oil has been performed, on late occasions.

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[34] *Vol.* 1. p. 36. Mr. Taylor cites an early example of the chrismale from the Saxon chronicle: *(an.* 878.) "Guthrum the Dane was baptized at Alre, and 'his crism-lysing wæs æt Weðmor,' that is, his chrismal was taken off at Wedmore." *Glory of regality. p.* 193.

Sandford asserts in his account of James II.'s coronation,[35] that the dean of Westminster, "early in the morning, with the assistance of the prebendaries, consecrated the holy oil for their majesties anointing:" but he supplies no particulars. Mr. Taylor[36] gives his decision, unsupported by any proof, that "it is of course set apart for the purpose to which it is designed with suitable acts of reverential solemnity:" and somewhat quaintly adds, "The formulary of its consecration hath not I believe been published." I do not feel obliged to offer any guesses upon what has hitherto, since the sixteenth century, been the practice: nor to state whether I believe or not, with Mr. Taylor, that the holy oil has been always beforehand set apart with "suitable acts of solemnity." I hope such has been the case. But I would express a wish, that when any future occasion demands a revision of our coronation order,—(from the necessity of which I earnestly trust and pray that God, of His goodness, may long preserve us)—a prayer of benediction of the oil may be inserted, to be said by the archbishop, or some bishop, after the service itself has commenced. It is not seemly, nor according to any ancient precedent, that it should be entrusted to the dean of Westminster, being an episcopal prerogative and duty.[37]

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[35] *p.* 91. And with this agrees another account, printed in 4to. 1760. *p.* 6.

[36] *Glory of regality.* p. 352.

[37] I would observe that the whole of the above paragraph, is founded upon the supposition that the consecration of the oil is not performed by the archbishop when he says the prayer "O Lord, holy Father," and "*lays his hand upon the ampulla.*" I do not mean to say that a designation of the oil to its particular purpose does not then take place, but that there is scarcely, what both theologians and ritualists would call, a consecration of it. The oil is

Here seems to be the proper place to remark upon a ceremony, which, in the late coronations of Queen Adelaide, and her present Majesty, has not been observed. I mean the anointing of the breast. This rite had been practised for nearly 800 years, for it does not appear to have been introduced until after the Conquest. The Roman pontifical did not adopt it: and for this reason, if for no other, it is to be regretted that it has been, for a season, omitted; namely, because it appears to have been a solemnity peculiar to the Queens of England and France. I have been informed that it was not observed from a feeling of delicacy.

I would describe the mode of its ancient performance, from the illuminations in the coronation book of Charles V. of France. The second represents the Queen kneeling, with her robe laced; in the third, she is standing, surrounded and concealed by her ladies, whilst they unlace it; in the fourth, she kneels, her robe unlaced, before the archbishop; who anoints her, not with his finger, but with a golden reed or pencil; and in the mean-time, the ladies hold a thin veil before her.

It was from this anointing, whether upon the head or breast, or upon both, that our queens-consort are said, no less than kings, to be consecrated. As for example, Bromton in his chronicle, says of the queen of Henry I, "quam Anselmus die sancti Martini coronavit, et in

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afterwards called "holy oil," so that I do not correct my observations and argument in *Vol.* 1. *p.* cclv. It is a strong evidence against this prayer being to be considered the Form of Consecration of the oil, that it occurs in the same place in the order for K. James II. when, as Sandford expressly states, the solemnity of the consecration had previously been completed.

reginam Angliæ consecravit."[38] This was so, from the earliest times of which we have any record: for, although it is well-known that for some period the Anglo-saxon queens were deprived of their dignity, in consequence of the crimes of Eadburga, in the beginning of the ninth century, yet there is reason to suppose that before that date they were crowned and anointed, as it is quite certain that from the time of Judith, the queen of Ethelwulf, and of the Order of K. Ethelred, they always have been.[39]

We find frequent allusion made in the old chronicles to the anointing of the queens of England, as well as of our kings, upon the breast: which evidently shews that it has been, since its adoption, looked upon as a very significant and solemn part of the ceremony. Thus, Grafton, in his account of Richard III. and queen Anne; " After diverse songes solemply song, they both discended to the high altare, and were shifted

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[38] *Script. X. tom.* 1. *p.* 998. Also Hoveden, *edit.* Savile. *p.* 268. " Quam Anselmus Dorobernensis archiepiscopus reginam consecravit."

[39] Mr. Taylor, in his appendix, disputes the fact of the Anglo-saxon queens having been crowned, before the time of queen Judith: arguing from the circumstance, that no mention of their " coronation " is to be found, and that all the writers who relate the guilt of Eadburga, and the consequent abhorrence of the people, speak only of the royal dignity, and the title of Queen in general terms. But I would rather take the same view with the very learned writers Spelman, and Selden: who both understand the actual coronation of the Saxon queens to have been an established ceremony, and for a season interrupted. The strongest argument in favour of Mr. Taylor's view, is one which he has not stated; viz. that the pontifical of Egbert does not give the Order for a Queen. I own this to be a difficulty, and leave the question to the judgment of the reader. He must consult the original passages in Asser, Florence of Worcester, Matthew of Westminster, and the Polychronicon, &c.

from their robes, and had diverse places open from the middle vpward, in whiche places they were anointed."[40] So, of the coronation of Anne Boleyn: "After she had rested a while, she descended down to the high altar, and there prostrate hir selfe, while the archbishop of Canturburie said certeine collects: then she rose, and the bishop annointed hir on the head, and on the brest, and then she was led vp again."[41]

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[40] *Continuation of Hardyng*, *p.* 517. See the same, in Holinshed, *vol.* 3. *p.* 733. and Hall, *p.* 376. And compare Grafton's Chronicle, *vol.* 2. *p.* 115.

[41] Holinshed: *vol.* 3. *p.* 933. Hall: *p.* 803. Compare also, the archbishop's own account of this coronation, in the Archæologia, *vol.* 18. *p.* 80, and in Ellis's *Original Letters*, 1st Series, *vol.* 2. *p.* 39. The coronation of Anne Boleyn was performed in a very magnificent manner, at a lavish expense. Hence, the details of it are important. An original paper of Cromwell, in the treasury of the Exchequer, cited by Weever, (*Fun. Mon. p.* 512,) states, among the extraordinary expenses of the reign: "Item, his Highnesse hath been at a most costly charge for the coronation of Queen Anne."

CHAPTER II.

I SHALL now extract some accounts of the early coronations of our kings: if two or three of these seem to be long, the reader will be repaid by the light which they throw upon the Service itself, which will follow; and by the force of the evidence which they furnish to the constant observance of the more important parts of the solemnity. I shall not give notices of every reign, but those only which will be sufficient to bring down the facts, in one unbroken line, from the eighth to the sixteenth century.

The coronation and anointing of Egferth have been already spoken of: in the year 795, the Saxon chronicle relates that Eardwulph, king of Northumberland, was "consecrated and raised to his throne by Eanbalde, archbishop, and other bishops."[1] In the next century, we have a very important account, by a contemporary, of the coronation of Edmund, king of the East Angles: "Anno dominicæ incarnationis 856, Nunberchus antistes unxit oleo, consecravitque in regem Eadmundum gloriosissimum."[2] In the succeeding century, Wallingford in his chronicles relates the celebrated story of Dunstan and K. Edwin; which he thus prefaces: "Verum in ipsis primordiis regni, videlicet ipso die unctionis ejus, qualis futurus rex foret, demonstravit.

[1] "And Eardwulf feng to Norðan-hymbran cinedome. ⁊ he wæs syððan gebletsod. ⁊ to his cine-stole ahofen." *p.* 81. *edit.* Ingram: "cinesetl" is more properly a throne.

[2] Asser, *de Ælfredi rebus gestis*. edit. Camden. *p.* 4.

Cui enim post coronationem et missarum solemnia, ut tantæ solemnitati congruit, *etc.*"[3] Once more; the coronation of king Ethelred, the *Ordo* of which will be so frequently referred to below, is thus spoken of: "Cui frater ejus Ethelredus, in regnum successit, et a sancto Dunestano aliisque Anglorum episcopis, inungitur et consecratur."[4]

Reminding the reader that accounts of the intermediate inaugurations and consecrations are to be found in the various chronicles, some giving one detail, some another,[5] I shall pass on to the coronation of K. Richard I.: of which we have full descriptions in both Matthew Paris, and Hoveden. The following is from the latter author, a contemporary.

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[3] *Scriptores XV. p.* 542.

[4] Ailred Abbas: *script. X. tom.* 1. *p.* 362. "A sanctis archipræsulibus Dunstano et Oswaldo, et decem episcopis, in Kyngestune ad regni fastigium est consecratus." *Flo. Wigorn. p.* 608.

[5] The historians tell us of omens which were observed at the coronation of king Stephen: "Fertur quod cum rex communionem corporis Christi die coronationis suæ ore esset percepturus, Eucharistia inter manum archiepiscopi et os regis subito elapsa disparuit." Bromton. *Chron. Script. X. tom.* 1. *p.* 1023. Gervase in his chronicle relates another: "In cujus coronatione inter missarum solennia triste contigit præsagium futurorum. Nam cum præfatus archiepiscopus post *Agnus Dei* corporis et sanguinis Salvatoris sacramenta conficeret, osculum pacis quod in populo dare sacrosancta consuevit ecclesia oblivioni penitus traditum est." *Ibid. p.* 1340. Both these authors relate the following, which may not improperly be added here, though it is not said to have occurred at his coronation. "Rex autem Stephanus sub tantis æstibus missam interim solempnem audiebat, Alexandro episcopo tunc celebrante; in cujus manibus cereus quem rex ex more solito obtulit, confractus est; quod signum fuit confractionis regis. Pixis etiam cum eucharistia fracta cathena super altare cecidit, et hoc fuit signum regiæ ruinæ." *Ibid.* 1030. 1352. And in Hoveden. *Annals*, edit. Savile. *p.* 278.

"In primis venerunt episcopi, et abbates, et clerici multi, induti capis sericis, præcedentibus eos cruce, ceroferariis, thuribulis cum aqua benedicta, usque ad ostium thalami regis interioris, et ibi receperunt prædictum Richardum ducem, qui coronandus erat, et duxerunt eum in ecclesiam Westmonasterii, usque ad altare majus cum ordinata processione, et cantu glorioso; et omnis via, qua gradiebantur ab ostio thalami regis, usque ad altare cooperta erat pannis laneis. Ordo autem processionis talis erat. In prima fronte præcedebant clerici induti, portantes aquam benedictam, et crucem, et cereos, et thuribulos. Deinde veniebant priores. Deinde abbates. Deinde episcopi, et in medio illorum ibant quatuor barones portantes quatuor candelabra aurea.[6]———Deinde venit Richardus dux Normanniæ; et Hugo Dunelmensis episcopus ibat a dextris illius, et Reginaldus Bathoniensis episcopus a sinistris illius ibat: et quatuor barones portaverunt supra eos umbraculum sericum, super quatuor lanceas, et omnis turba comitum, et baronum, et militum, et aliorum, tam clericorum quam laicorum, sequebatur usque in atrium ecclesiæ, et induti introierunt cum duce usque in chorum. Cum autem dux ad altare veniret, coram archiepiscopis, episcopis, et clero, et populo, flexis genibus ante altare coram positis sacrosanctis evangeliis, et plurimorum sanctorum reliquiis, juravit quod ipse omnibus diebus vitæ suæ, pacem et honorem atque reverentiam Deo, et sanctæ ecclesiæ, et ejus ordinatis, portaret. Deinde denudaverunt eum totum, exceptis camisia et braccis; camisia dissuta erat in scapulis. Deinde calciaverunt eum sandaliis, auro contextis. Deinde Bal-

[6] I have omitted the details of the regalia, and the names of those who carried them.

dewinus Cantuarensis archiepiscopus infundens oleum sanctum super caput ejus, unxit eum in regem, in tribus locis, videlicet in capite, in pectore, et in brachiis; quod significat gloriam, et fortitudinem, et scientiam, cum orationibus ad hoc constitutis. Deinde posuit idem archiepiscopus supra caput ejus consecratum pannum lineum, et pileum desuper. Deinde induerunt eum cum vestimentis regalibus. Deinde tradidit ei idem archiepiscopus gladium regnim. Deinde duo comites calciaverunt ei calcaria. Deinde indutus est mantea. Deinde ductus est ad altare, et ibi prædictus archiepiscopus prohibuit ei, ex parte omnipotentis Dei, ne hunc honorem sibi assumeret, nisi in mente haberet, supradicta sacramenta et vota quæ fecerat inviolabiliter servare; et ipse respondit, se per auxilium Dei omnia supradicta servaturum sine fraude. Deinde ipse cepit coronam de altari, et tradidit eam archiepiscopo, et archiepiscopus posuit eam super caput illius, quam duo comites sustinebant propter ponderositatem ipsius. Deinde tradidit ei archiepiscopus sceptrum regale, in manu dextra, et virgam regalem, in manu sinistra; et rex sic coronatus ductus est ad sedem suam, a prædictis Dunelmensi et Bathoniensi episcopis, præcedentibus eos ceroferariis et prædictis tribus gladiis. Deinde inchoata est missa dominicalis, et cum perveniretur ad offertorium, prædicti episcopi duxerunt eum ad altare, et ipse obtulit unam marcam auri purissimi. Talis enim oblatio decet regem in singulis coronationibus suis. Et præfati episcopi reduxerunt eum ad sedem suam. Celebrata autem missa, et omnibus rite peractis, prædicti duo episcopi, unus a dextris, et alter a sinistris, reduxerunt eum coronatum, et portantem sceptrum in dextra, et virgam regalem in sinistra, ab ecclesia usque in thalamum suum, præcedente ordi-

nata processione, ut superius. Deinde reversa est processio in chorum, et dominus rex deposuit coronam regalem et vestes regales; et leviores, coronam et vestes cepit, et sic coronatus venit prandere; et archiepiscopi et episcopi sederunt cum eo in mensa, unusquisque secundum ordinem et dignitatem suam. Comites autem et barones serviebant in domo regis, prout dignitates eorum exigebant. Cives vero London. servierunt de pincernaria, et cives Winton. de coquina."[7]

The ceremonies which took place at the coronation of Richard II. are so fully described by Walsingham, that he seems but to have made an abridgment of the "Liber Regalis." The following is the substance of his account of the solemnity: and I can assure the student, who wishes to understand the office itself, which I have edited, that he will do well to read it carefully, and compare the two. Walsingham mentions some particulars which the *Ordo* does not: and giving us a statement of what actually took place, he supplies also an admirable commentary and testimony to the Form which was appointed to be observed.

"Die Jovis, id est, 16 die Julii, vigilia sancti Kenelmi regis, convenientibus archiepiscopo et episcopis, regnique proceribus ad Westm. summo mane, ordinata processione monachorum in capis, episcopi cum monachis ad ostium regii thalami pervenerunt, et paratum regem reperientes ibidem per manus qui ejus lateribus

[7] *Edit.* Savile. *p.* 374. The Cotton MS. Claudius. E. viij. contains a transcript of this, of the fourteenth century: headed, "de modo coronationis regis, et de coronatione regis Ricardi." Compare Matt. Paris, *p.* 128, and, John Bromton, *Chron.* in Script. X. *tom.* 1. *p.* 1158. The Chronicle of Gervase relates the second coronation of Richard, after his return from captivity, at Winchester; and has an incidental notice of K. Stephen's. *Ibid. p.* 1587.

astiterunt, perduxerunt in ecclesiam S. Petri, cantantes antiphonam in honorem apostoli, cum oratione competenti adjuncta, et hac oratione: '*Deus humilium.*' Rex vero mox ut altare pervenit, prostravit se solo tenus ante altare, pavimentum autem stratum fuit palliis et tapetis. Prosecuta, ut diximus, oratione archiepiscopus, cum episcopis qui aderant, prostravit se super pavimentum circa regem. Interim duo episcopi litaniam devote cantarunt. Qua expleta erectus rex ductus est ad sedem suam: choro hanc antiphonam decantante, '*Firmetur.*' Tunc episcopus sermonem fecit de materia regis et regni ad populum, qualiter rex se haberet in populo, et in quibus populus sibi debuit obedire. Quo completo juravit rex coram archiepiscopo, et proceribus qui ibi aderant, quoniam ipsi soli ejus juramentum audire potuerunt.—Quibus expletis, archiepiscopus —convertit se ad omnes plagas ecclesiæ, indicans populo regium juramentum, et quærens si se tali principi ac rectori subjicere, et ejus jussionibus obtemperare vellent. Et responsum est a plebetisono clamore, quod libenter sibi parere vellent. Archiepiscopus regem his orationibus benedixit, videlicet: '*Omnipotens.*' Ista præmissa benedictio post primam orationem ad modum præfationis ab archiepiscopo cantabatur, qua cantata dicta est et alia oratio super eum, scilicet, '*Deus ineffabilis,*' cum antiphona, '*Confortare.*' Tunc archiepiscopus accessit ad eum, et vestimenta sua discindens manib. suis a summo usque ad imum, exuit eum præter camisiam vestimentis suis. Custodes vero. v. portuum ex officio tam in processione, quam in unctione et missæ, et post missam dum iret ad palatium ab ecclesia, semper tenuerunt umbraculum sericum magnum, coloris aerii, IV. hastis per quatuor angulos colligatum. Sed non obstante umbraculo supradicto, mox antequam

archiepiscopus eum suis vestibus exuisset, allatus est pannus aureus a comitibus, sub quo latuit, dum unctionis perciperet sacramenta. Archiepiscopus (ut diximus) eo nudato unxit manus ejus de oleo sanctificato, unde uncti fuerunt reges et prophetæ, et sicut unxit Samuel Davidem in regem.—Item dixit orationem '*Prospice.*' Post hæc unxit archiepiscopus caput ejus, et pectus, et scapulas, ambasque compages brachiorum, dicens: '*Unguantur caput istud.*' Et interim chorus cantavit antiphonam, '*Unxerunt.*' Postquam subjunxit metropolitanus, '*Deus Dei Filius.*' Mox finita oratione archiepiscopus cum episcopis hymnum, '*Veni Creator Spiritus,*' rege interim prostrato in longa venia, et circa eum metropolitano cum suffraganeis suis. Expleto hymno erectus est rex ab archiepiscopo, et indutus est primo tunica S. Ed. et post ejusdem dalmatica, projecta circa collum ejus stola, archiepiscopo orationes competentes interim prosequente. Post hæc archiepiscopus cum episcopis tradidit ei gladium, ita dicens: '*Accipe gladium.*' Tunc duo comites cum gladio accinxerunt: quo facto archiepiscopus armillas dedit ei, dicens: '*Accipe armillas.*' Postea induit eum archiepiscopus regali pallio, ita dicens: '*Accipe pallium.*' Interim dum archiepiscopus benedixit coronam regiam, duo comites calcariaverunt, ad quorum officium pertinebat. Benedicta corona, archiepiscopus imposuit super caput, dicens: '*Coronet te.*' Tunc dedit ei archiepiscopus anulum, cum his verbis: '*Accipe anulum.*' Statim post hæc accessit dominus de Furnival, ex officio offerens ei rubeam chirothecam, quam archiepiscopus benedixit, et imposuit manui regiæ, dans ei sceptrum his verbis, dicens: '*Accipe sceptrum.*' Tunc dedit ei archiepiscopus virgam in alia manu, habentem in summitate columbam, nam sceptrum quod suscepe-

rat, consurrexit de rotundo globo aureo, quem tenebat in manu chirothecata, et habebat in summitate signum crucis, et accepit virgam prædictam cum verbis his: '*Accipe virtutis.*' Post hæc benedictus est rex ab archiepiscopo ita dicente: '*Benedicat te.*' His itaque peractis, osculatus est rex episcopos omnes et abbates, a quibus statim ductus est postea ad regale solium, episcopis inchoantibus hymnum, '*Te Deum laudamus.*' Finito hymno, archiepiscopus ita eum allocutus est: '*Sta et retine.*' His itaque peractis, inchoata est missa congruens coronationi regiæ.—Lecto evangelio, rex de regali solio ductus est ad offerendum. Primo igitur obtulit archiepiscopo gladium suum, quem susceperat, et postea aurum quantum placuit, sed non minus marca propter consuetudinem: nam plus potest offerre Deo et sancto Petro si placuerit. Post oblationem pecuniæ obtulit archiepiscopo panem et vinum ad modum monachorum, unde postea, tam metropolitanus, quam ipse rex, communicati fuerunt. Quo facto, comes, ad cujus officium pertinebat portare gladium coram rege, gladium quem obtulerat dato pretio redemit, et assumens eum, portabat coram illo. Percelebrata missa usque ad communionem, reductus est rex ad altare, et genuflexo coram archiepiscopo, dixit, '*Confiteor.*' Quo absoluto, communicatus est, et iterum reductus est ad sedem suam.—Illico post decessum militis,[8] [*Joannis Dymok*] præequitantibus regem dominis supradictis super dextrarios suos, necnon præcedente magno numero diversi generis histrionum, portatus est in humeris

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[8] The champion, it seems, came, at an improper time, to the abbey: and was desired to go away, and appear at the banquet. "Henricus Percy venit ad dictum militem, dicens non debere eum ea hora venire, sed quod usque ad prandium regis differret adventum suum."

For some account of the family

militum usque ad regale palatium, ductus quoque in cameram, paulisper quievit: debilis enim fuerat præ labore parum comedens."[9]

Of succeeding coronations there are few particulars which would illustrate further the Service which I have printed: three very curious and valuable manuscripts, in English, are extant, and preserved in the British Museum, from which I have made, as the reader will observe, many extracts in the notes, to elucidate the text. These manuscripts are entitled, 1st. "The maner and forme of the kyngis and quenes coronacion in Englonde;"[10] which it is not improbable was prepared for some particular occasion, but it does not appear what that was. 2nd. An account of the coronation of Henry VI.[11] And, 3rd, the "Devyse" for the coronation of K. Henry VIII. This last is especially valuable; having been carefully examined and approved by the king himself, who has made many corrections with his own hand in the oath which he was to take.[12]

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of the Dymocks, and before them, of the Kilpecs, see the *Archæologia*, *vol.* 20, *p.* 207, *note* b. and, for the oath which champions were to take in case of a duel, *ibid.* *p.* 170, *note* b. It has been supposed, from the error related above by Walsingham, that either the representative of the family of Dymock for the first time discharged the office at that coronation; or, that the ceremony had been omitted during some preceding reigns. It is a curious circumstance, that the widow of this Sir John Dymock was obliged many years after, to petition King Henry IV. for the fees due upon this occasion: and that the original petition is still extant. *Cotton MS.* Vitellius. C. XIV. 49. It is written on a slip of vellum.

[9] *Hist. Angl.* edit. Camden, *p.* 195. Compare Holinshed, *vol.* 3, *p.* 416.

[10] Lansdown MS. 285.

[11] Cotton MS. Nero. C. ix.

[12] Cotton MS. Tiberius. E. viij. An excellent fac-simile of the oath, with its interlineations,

There are some remarkable circumstances relating to the coronation of K. Edward VI., and I do not see any reason to doubt the assertion of bishop Burnet, that the Form was shortened; although it is not correct, unless mere omissions made it so, that "a new form was ordered to be drawn.[13] The chief document, of authority, which describes at length the order in which the coronation was to be observed, is "the Order" printed by Burnet in his records, Book 1. No. 4: from the council book. It cannot be denied that there were in the ancient service some few and short passages, which, after the dissolution of the abbeys, would necessarily call for some alteration; but the reason which the council gave for shortening the ceremony, was not true, viz.: that he was too young to bear the fatigue of so long a ceremony: for he was older than his predecessors, Henry III. and Henry VI., and about one year younger than Richard II. Whatever the true cause may have been, the fact, that the service was mutilated and curtailed, does not seem to admit of dispute: and to a very considerable extent, if we place any reliance on the order of the council. For among other things omitted, it does not appear that Edward received investiture with the royal robe, or ring; or that he was even offered or presented with the sceptres of the realm of England. If one would object that this record from the council books is not to be interpreted so strictly, because it is not credible that so solemn a part of the ceremonies, as that regarding the sceptres, would have been struck out, I do not

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has been given by Sir Henry Ellis, in the 1st volume of the second series of his "Original Letters:" a work of very great value and interest.

[13] *Hist. Reform. vol.* 3. *p.* 26.

then see how he would prove that Edward VI. was not, as he ought to have been, completely crowned after the ancient manner and custom of his fathers. I leave the matter to the consideration of the reader.[14]

Queen Mary was crowned according to the old and full form of the Liber Regalis: Holinshed gives a very long description of the pageants, as she went to the Abbey; but of the service itself he merely states, that "the coronation and other ceremonies and solemnities were according to the old custome."[15] Archbishop Parker corroborates this, and says; "regina Maria missationibus sacrisque pontificiis, uncta regnoque initiata est."[16] Queen Elizabeth was also crowned according to the old rites, and with the celebration of the mass, omitting only the elevation of the host.[17]

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[14] Holinshed, in a general way, asserts that "his coronation was solemnized in due forme and order, with all the roialtie and honour which therevnto apperteined." *vol.* 3. p. 979.

I am indebted to a friend for a transcript also of a contemporary account of this coronation, (Harleian MS. 3504.) possibly drawn up by an eye-witness, in which it is asserted that the sceptres were delivered to the king, by two noblemen: and also, that he was anointed on the soles of his feet. I hesitate to place much reliance on this document, where it differs from the council-minute; and the writer, without intending it, might have both mistaken and misrepresented facts.

[15] *Vol.* 3. *p.* 1091.

[16] *De antiquitate Brit. Ecc.* p. 509.

[17] Burnet, *vol.* 3. *p.* 762. It seems certain however that there was only one bishop present, Oglethorpe, of Carlisle: and Collier, speaking loosely, says that the solemnity "was performed according to ancient custom, and directed by the Roman pontifical." *vol.* 2. *p.* 412. The ancient custom was very different from the Roman order. But some modification of the old rubrics of the Liber Regalis must have unavoidably taken place, in consequence of the refusal of the bishops to attend. It has been said that the queen never forgot or forgave their resolution in this matter: see Ellis, *Original Letters*, 3rd Series, *vol.* 2. *p.* 324.

The new Form, new, that is, in its language more than in its order and details, was first used upon the occasion of the coronation of King James in 1603; and this, with some alterations, has been "the Coronation Service," up to the present day.

By a careful examination of the notes below, the reader will be able, I trust, to trace sufficiently for himself, the principal changes which have been made, from time to time, during the last two centuries: and for more exact enquiry, (these modern services being rather incidentally than truly within the proper limits of my subject) I must refer him to the Forms themselves, all of which are, I believe, still extant in our great libraries.[18]

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[18] Besides the Bodleian and the British Museum, several Forms, not to be found elsewhere, are in the libraries of Lambeth, and of the dean and chapter of Westminster.

I do not enter into any account or history of the regalia: much information may be obtained from common books respecting them, such as Sandford, or Taylor, in the "Glory of regality." The regalia now used are not the ancient ones: those having been destroyed, and melted down, by order of the Long Parliament: among them, it is said, the genuine crown of K. Alfred. The modern crowns, sceptres, &c., were made for Charles II.

There is however one monument of antiquity remaining, the Coronation Chair. The legend is, that it is the stone on which the patriarch Jacob laid his head in the plain of Luz; that it was brought from Egypt to Spain; from thence to Ireland A. C. 700; carried to Scotland A. C. 300; and at last offered at the shrine of Edward the Confessor at Westminster by K. Edward I. Whatever amount of truth there may be in this, the remark is just, that "this is the antientest respected monument in the world, for though some others may be more antient as to duration, yet thus superstitiously regarded they are not." Toland, *Hist. of the Druids. p.* 104. The stone was reckoned among the Jewels of Scotland: thus, in the Wardrobe account of Edward the first, we find; "Jocalia remanentia in fine anni xxvij mi. de jocalibus quæ fuerunt quon-

The coronation Oath, and the history of it, have been so accurately investigated and explained by va-

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dam regis Scocie, inventis in castro de Edeneburgh anno xxv^{to}., videlicet, Ciphus argenti, *etc.* Una petra magna super quam reges Scocie solebant coronari." *Liber quotidianus*, 4to. p. 353. See also Chalmers' *Caledonia, vol.* 1. *p.* 468. cit. *Glory of regality*, p. 58. The first chair was made by Kenneth of Scotland, in the ninth century: and Edward I. ordered a new chair, for the payment of which a considerable sum is entered in the Wardrobe accounts of the year 1300.

There is no record of the first coronation at which the stone was used in England: probably by Edward II. And even if Edward I. did not specify the purpose to which it was, in after ages, to be put, it is not likely that his successors would either forget the old traditions about it, or neglect to secure to themselves the blessings which were promised to those, who should have the power and be entitled to be crowned on it. But it is not to be denied, (and the writers upon the regalia have not noticed this circumstance) that an early authority, Thomas Walsingham, says that Edward deposited it at Westminster, for the use of the celebrant at the Confessor's shrine. His statement is; "In redeundo autem transivit per abbathiam de Scone, ubi sublato lapide quo reges Scotorum tempore coronationis solebant uti pro throno, transtulit illum usque Westmonasterium, jubens idem fieri celebrantium cathedram sacerdotum." *Ypodigma Neustriæ.* p. 485.

Before the reformation, all the regalia, it is said, were kept at Westminster, under the care of the abbot and convent: and now, though deposited in the Tower, they are brought the evening before the coronation to the dean of Westminster, and are left after the ceremony in his charge, at the shrine of the Confessor. Rishanger in his Chronicle, speaking of the two sceptres being carried in procession by the abbot of Westminster, adds: "Hoc officium fecit abbas, non quia primus est inter abbates, sed quia regalium insignium est repositorium locus suus." *cit.* Taylor. *p.* 92. But compare an order "thesaurario et camerariis de scaccario" to deliver up the golden eagle with the ampulla. *An.* 8. *Henr.* VI. Rymer. *Fœdera. tom.* 4. *pars.* 4. *p.* 151. And again in 1220, a similar order "Petro de malo lacu," to bring the "regale, quod penes ipsum est apud Corff." *Tom.* 1. *pars.* 1. *p.* 81.

There is, however, one rem-

rious authors,[19] that I shall merely add one or two observations upon points, which I do not remember to have seen noticed elsewhere. Either in the rituals,

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nant of the ancient regalia, if I may so entitle it, still entrusted to the custody of the dean of Westminster: viz: the Liber Regalis. This most valuable volume, so often to be referred to below, is a thin folio, of 38 leaves of vellum. There are four illuminations in it, each occupying nearly a page, prefixed to the offices which correspond. 1. Of a king being crowned. 2. Of a king and queen crowned together. 3. Of a queen alone. 4. Of a king lying in state. These illuminations are executed upon a very rich ground of highly burnished gold, with scrolls, according to the fashion of that time, represented by minute punctures upon the surface. A fac-simile, with a description of the book is given by Mr. Westwood, in his Palæographia Sacra. The date of the manuscript cannot be later than the reign of Richard II., for whose coronation it has been supposed to have been written; but the illuminations represent a monarch much older than he was on that occasion, and the likeness must either therefore be conventional, or intended for his predecessor, Edward III.* or for himself in after-life. Whatever the fact may be, the intrinsic value and importance of the Liber Regalis is not affected; it still remains, "the Royal Book," the Book of the Royal Offices, to be performed and observed according to the Use of the Royal Church of Westminster, in the fourteenth century.

I would observe here, that an ancient privilege of the king, at his coronation, was to nominate a nun to be received into certain abbeys; for example, Shaftsbury, Wilton, and Barking. The forms are given in the *Fœdera. Tom.* 4. *pars.* iv. *p.* 152. 156.

19 The student should consult Rymer, *Fœdera:* Blackstone, *Commentaries*, vol. 1. Prynne, Signal Loyalty: Wharton, *Troubles of Archbishop Laud*, p. 318. Taylor, *Glory of Regality*, p. 329—344.

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* In which case, the book would have been written in his reign. And it is remarkable, that the chair in which the sovereign sits, is not of that character, which is attributed to the later years of Edward III., as being made by him, for the stone.

or in the historians, (in the first exactly, in the last in general terms) we can trace the oath and its successive changes, from the time of K. Ethelred, to the present day. The promises and oath of William the Conqueror, are thus related. In the chronicle of Walter Hemingford: "Requisitus Eborum archiepiscopus— ad tuenda, conservandaque jura et privilegia ecclesiastica eum solemniter sacramentis astrinxit."[20] More fully, by Hoveden: "—consecratus est honorificè, sed prius, ut idem archipræsul ab eo exigebat, ante altare S. Petri coram clero et populo, jurejurando promittens se velle sanctas Dei ecclesias, ac rectores earum defendere, necnon et cunctum populum sibi subjectum juste, ac regali providentia regere, rectam legem statuere, et tenere, rapinas injustaque judicia penitus interdicere."[21]

According to the modern Orders, it is expressly directed that the sovereign should sign the oath: and there is a remarkable passage in an epistle of Thomas a Becket to king Henry, which would seem to refer to a subscribed declaration or oath at his coronation. The archbishop is particularly alluding to that solemnity, and to the rite of unction. He reminds the king; "Inunguntur reges in capite, etiam pectore et brachiis, quod significat gloriam, sanctitatem, et fortitudinem.— Audiat, si placeat, dominus meus, consilium servi sui, commonitionem episcopi sui, castigationem patris sui, ne cum schismaticis habeat de cætero aliquam fami-

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[20] Script. x. *tom.* 2. *p.* 457.

[21] *Edit.* Savile. *p.* 258. Concerning William Rufus, see Eadmer, *Lib.* 1. *an.* 1087. Of Henry I. (whose "Ordo" will be often referred to below) Knyghton, *de event. Angl.* Script. xv. *tom.* 2. p. 2396. and Giraldus Cambrensis, *de instr. Principum.* Anglia Christiana, *p.* 43.

liaritatem vel communionem, nec contrahat aliquid cum eis. Memoresque sitis professionis quam fecistis et posuistis scriptam super altare, de servanda ecclesiæ Dei libertate, quando in regem consecrati fuistis."[22] And, a little before this time, Peter Damian has an observation, which will undoubtedly admit of an interpretation in support of the meaning, which the language of the archbishop appears to convey. He says, "inaugurandum regem manu propria jurare libertatem ecclesiarum."[23]

Among the riches of the library of the British Museum is a manuscript, (Cotton, Tiberius A. ij.) of the highest interest. It contains a Latin version of the four Gospels: and the tradition is, that it originally belonged to K. Athelstan, and is the identical copy, upon which, for several centuries, the kings of England took the coronation-oath. A full account of the volume, with the evidence in its favour, has been ably drawn up and published by Mr. Holmes:[24] I cannot say the proof is very satisfactory; but one fact is certain, that, in consequence of its renown at that time, and after some enquiry (we must conclude) into its history, this book was used at the coronation of Charles I.[25] I think there is clear evidence, that in the 15th and 16th centuries, the coronation-oath was not taken, as perhaps very anciently, and now in modern days, only upon the Holy Evangelists. The English MS. Order, which I have before mentioned,[26] thus directs. "Moreovir the kyng shall make his ooth, in his co-

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22 Matt. Paris. *Hist. Angl.* p. 88.

23 *Serm. in dedicatione ecclesiæ.* 1.

24 *Gentleman's Magazine.* May, 1838.

25 Ellis, *Original Letters.* vol. 1. p. 214.

26 See above, p. xxxiv, note 10.

ronacion vpon the sacrament of the auter, laide vpon the high awter of the chirche before the people." So the "Devyse" for Henry VIII. "'—— all these things and euery of theym, I, Henry, King of Englande, promytte and conferme to kepe and obserue, so helpe me God, and thise holy Euangelists by me bodily touched vppon this hooly awter.' And then the king shall ryse vp of his chayer, and by the seid bisshoppes of Exetour and Ely shall be ledde to the highe Aulter. Wher he shall make a solempne oth vppon the sacrament leyde vpon the same aulter, in the sight of all the people, to observe all the premisses." And once more; in the order of the council, cited above, regarding the coronation of Edward VI., we find both "the sacrament" and "the book" mentioned. "Then shall the king rise out of his chair, and by them that before assisted him, be led to the high altar, where he shall make a solemn oath upon the sacrament, laid upon the said altar, in the sight of all the people, to observe the premisses; and laying his hand again on the book, shall say; *etc.*"[27]

This royal oath, in whatever sense the reader may

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[27] Burnet: *Hist. Reform. Records.* Part II. Book. 1. No. 4. The reader will observe that the *order* of swearing is contrary to that appointed for Henry VIII.

I shall place in a note some examples of the ancient oath, both of the king, and of the people and clergy. For the Anglo-saxon version of K. Ethelred's oath I must refer the reader to the Cotton MS. B. xiij. in which it is extant, or to the preface to Hickes' *Inst. Anglo-Saxonicæ*, where it is printed.

The French oath of K. Edward III. is as follows; from Rymer: "*Petit.* Volez vous graunter et gardez, et par vostre serment confirmer, au poeple d'Engleterre les leys et les custumes â eux grauntees par les aunciens roys d'Engleterre voz predecessours, droitures et devotz a Dieu, et nomeement les leys, les coutumes, et les franchisès grauntez au cler-

choose to regard the term, must have been "a corporal oath." From the extracts below it will be seen

ge, et au poeple, par le glorious roy Seint Edward vestre predecessour?

"*Respons.* Jeo les grante et promette.

"*Petit.* Sire, garderez vouz a Dieu et seint Eglise, et au clerge et au poeple, pees et acord en Dieu entierment, selonc vostre poair?

"*Respons.* Jeo les garderai.

"*Petit.* Sire, freez vous faire en touz voz jugements ovele et droit justice et discretion, en misericorde et verite, a vostre poair?

"*Respons.* Jeo les frai.

"*Petit.* Sire, grauntez vouz a tenir et garder les leys et les custumes dreitureles, les quiels la communaute de vostre roialme aura esleu, et les defendrez et afforterez al honure de Dieu, a vostre poair?

"*Respons.* Jeo les graunte et promette." *Fœdera. tom.* 2. *pars.* 2. *p.* 172.

I extract also the form of the oath as it is appointed in English, to be taken, according to the "Devyse" for Henry VIII. And with this, generally, agrees the "Order" in the other English MS. 285.

"The sermon ended, if any such be, the cardynall and the kyng that is to be corowned so sittyng as is abouesayd, the cardynall with an open and distincte voyce, shall aske the king vndre this forme:

'Will ye graunte and kepe to the people of England, the lawes and the custumes to theym, as of old tyme rightfull and deuoute kings graunted, and the same ratefye and conserue by your othe, and the spirituall lawes, custumes, and libertees graunted to the clergy and people by your noble predecessor and glorious kyng Seint Edward?'

"The king shall aunswer, 'I graunte and promytte.'

"And when the kyng before all the people hath promytted truly to graunte and kepe all the premysses, Then shall the seid cardynall open vnto hym the speciall Articles, whereunto the kyng shall be sworn: the same cardynall seyng as foloweth:

'Ye shall kepe after your strength and power to the Church of God, to the clergy and the people, hoole pees and goodely concorde.'

"The kyng shall aunswer: 'I shall kepe.'

"Ye shall make to be done after your strength and power equall and rightfull justice in all your Domes and Jugements, and discrecion with mercy and trouthe.

that the chief authorities all refer this "corporal oath" to the touching of the consecrated host, or the corporal within which it was placed.[28] But in thus limit-

"The king shall aunswer: 'I shall do.'

"Do ye graunte the rightfull lawes and custumes to be holden, and promytte after your strength and power such lawes, as to the honor of God shall be chosen by your people, by you to be strengthed and defended."

"The kyng shall aunswer: 'I graunte and promytte.'"

In the Cotton MS. Vespasian. C. xiv. is a copy of the oaths of fealty and homage to be taken by the spiritualty and temporalty of the realm; in French and English, of the latter end of the 14th century, the date of the Liber Regalis. I extract the English Form.

"*Pour les seigneurs espirituels. Foiaultee.* 'I shall be trewe and feythefull, and feith and trowth shall bere to yow our liege lord, y[e] kyng of England, and to yowre heires, kynges of England, of erthely worship, for to leue and deye ayeins all maner folc, and * * * * shalle be entendant to yowr nedis aftir my connyng and power, and kepe your conseil, and trewly knowlech and do the seruices due of the temporaltees of my Bisshopricke or Abbaye of *N.* whiche I clayme for to hold of yow, and to yow and to yowr comaundements as mykel as falleth to me for my temporaltees, I shall be obeissant: so help me God, and all his halwes.

"*Pour les serv[ces]. temporel. Homage.* 'I become yowr liege man of lif and of leme, and erthely worship, feithe, and trowth, shall bere to yow, ayeins al maner of men y[t] may lieue and deye. So help me God, and all his halwes.'

"*Pour les Dames. Homage.* 'I do yow homage, liege, and faith, trowth and erthely worship, y shall bere to yow, a fore all other creatures, for y[e] landes and tenements the whiche I clayme to hold of yow my liege lord. So help me God, and all his halwes.'"

[28] Johnson (Todd's edition) cites Brand's popular antiquities. "The phrase corporal oath is supposed to have been derived—not from the touching of the New Testament, or the bodily act of kissing it, but from the ancient use of touching the *corporale*, or cloth which covered the consecrated elements."

Richardson, in his very valuable dictionary, first cites Junius: "*Corporale*, quo Domini corpus, i, panem consecratum tegebant," and adds "corporal oath, from the custom of touching this corporal."

ing the meaning of it, they cannot but be in error, as may be proved from many passages in the mediæval English writers. For example, the following from Thorn's chronicle. "*Forma fidelitatis faciendæ.* Ego N. de C. juro ad hæc sancta Dei evangelia præstito corporaliter sacramento, quod fidelis ero, *etc.*"[29] This may not be so clear as other examples: viz.: "Et hii omnes et singuli recognoscebant eundem ordinarium, —et ipso instanti sponte canonicam obedientiam in scriptis, et inspectis sacrosanctis evangeliis eidem abbati corporaliter fecerunt."[30] Once more, the case of a certain vicar of Faversham, who refused to perform his duty, "post canonicam obedientiam pro vicaria sua ad sancta Dei evangelia corporaliter præstitam."[31]

Nor are there wanting numerous examples in the chronicles of the other form of taking the "corporal oath." I quote two of these from Walsingham. "Celebrata solemni missa, dictoque ter Agnus Dei, adjecto Dona nobis pacem, dictus Carolus in præsentia prædictorum et aliorum plurium, dexteram super patenam, cum corpore dominico, et lævam super missale

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29 *In Script. x. Tom.* 2. *p.* 1966.

30 *Ibid. p.* 1976. Upon "inspectis sacrosanctis evangeliis" it is well to quote Ducange: "id est, non tactis, sed coram ipsis, quemadmodum jurare solebant episcopi et sacerdotes: nam episcopi *supra sacra jurare* vetantur, in concilio Meldensi, an. 845." I cite also the following from the same author: "Per evangelia juraturos manus prius abluisse ex Chrysostomo refert Suicerus in Thesauro eccles. v. εὐαγγέλιον, ubi antiquum et usitatum per proposita evangelia jurandi morem probat ex Palladio ad Lausum. *etc.*" *Glossarium.* v. *Jurare inspectis sacrosanctis.*"

31 *Script. x. tom.* 2. *p.* 1979. To these I may add a foreign constitution cited by Mr. Dansey, in his book on Rural Deans. *p.* 135. "Tactis corporaliter sacrosanctis evangeliis in publico corporaliter subeant sacramenta." *Const. Siculæ. L.* 1. *tit.* lix.

posuit, hæc verba proferens: Nos Carolus juramus ad sacrosancta corpus Domino et evangelia firmiter servare, *etc.*"[32] The missal in this instance was evidently sworn upon, not as a missal or with any reference to the *Te igitur*, or Canon, but as containing the Gospels: and I cannot but conceive that other cases which have been produced of swearing "super Te igitur," or "super librum missalem," are to be understood in the same way, although Ducange seems to have supposed the contrary. Again, from Walsingham; a Carmelite friar, in the reign of Richard II. "obtento aditu ad regale colloquium, porrexit schedulam, jurans in sacramento corporis Christi, quod ipse eodem die celebrando confecerat, nullum verbum fore falsum, *etc.*"[33]

I cannot agree with the authorities whom I have quoted in the note above, that the term "corporal oath" is to be traced to the *corporale:* because there is no evidence that that ornament was the thing touched, but, on the contrary, that it was removed, and the consecrated eucharist itself was touched. The two examples from Walsingham, especially the first, would have induced us to have concluded this: and I am able to refer to an illumination, of the very time of the reign of K. Richard II., which sets the question at rest. In the British Museum, among the Harleian MSS.[34] is a French metrical history of the deposition of that prince: in the course of it, the earl of Northumberland offers to take his corporal oath: "Then replied the earl, 'Sire, let the body of our Lord be consecrated. I will swear that there is no

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[32] *Hist. Angl. p.* 175. [33] *Ibid. p.* 309.
[34] MS. 1319.

deceit in this affair; and that the duke will observe the whole as you have heard me relate it here.' Each of them devoutly heard mass: then the earl without farther hesitation made oath upon the body of our Lord."[35] There is a representation of this circumstance. The earl is kneeling before the altar, upon which are placed a gilt chalice, and below it the host, exposed; upon which last the earl places his right hand.[36] I hope that the reader will pardon this digression, and consider it not altogether foreign to the subject of my dissertation.

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[35] This is from the translation of the history, printed in the Archæologia, Vol. XX., with many illustrative notes.

[36] The celebrant is vested in a violet coloured chasuble, with narrow gold stripes.

CHAPTER III.

IN the first rubric of the Liber Regalis, which forms the first appendix below to the Order of Coronation, there occurs the following passage: "provideatur quod in aula regia majori sedes eminens sit, pannis sericis et inauratis decenter ornata, super quam dictus rex regnaturus cum omni mansuetudine et reverentia elevetur."

This ceremony has been supposed to have been derived from the more ancient customs of the northern nations, and many curious particulars, especially some relating to Sweden, have been collected by Mr. Taylor: who continues thus: "Perhaps the point in our English ceremony which is most analogous to the Gothic elevations is that of our kings being anciently placed upon a seat in Westminster Hall, which was thence denominated the King's Bench. This ancient seat, which occupied the upper end of the great hall, was appropriated to the administration of justice by the sovereign in person, or by the judges of his court, to which it gave the title of the Court of King's Bench."[1]

[1] "At the upper end of this hall, is a long marble stone of twelve feet in length and three feet in breadth. And there also is a marble chair, where the kings of England formerly sate at their coronation dinners; and, at other solemn times, the lord chancellor: but now not to be seen, being built over by the two courts of chancery and king's-bench." Stow: *Survey of London*. cit. *Glory of Regality*, *p.* 303. The chief point is here omitted in Stow's statement about the coronation-feast: the seat was used, as a ceremony, before, not after, the procession to the Abbey. It was

The same writer gives the following examples of the sovereign being placed in this chair. Of Richard II. from Rymer:[2] of Richard III, who according to Speed and Stow, went in great pomp unto Westminster hall, and there in the king's-bench court took his seat: as the Croyland chronicle relates; "se apud magnam aulam Westmonasterii in cathedram marmoream immisit." And Grafton says more plainly of the same king, "he came downe out of the white hall into the great hall at Westminster, and went directly to the kings-benche."[3] To these I would add one more from Rastell, of Edward IV. "He was brought into Westmyster, and there toke possessyon of the realme. And syttynge in the seate royall, in the great hall of Westmyster, with his septer in his hande, a question was axed of all the people, yf they wolde admitte hym to continue as kynge: to the whiche, with one voyce, all the people cryed there, Ye."[4]

And these from the MSS. before cited, in the British Museum. "*The King's see.* Also it must be ordeyned that in the day of the kyng's coronacyon in the grete halle of Westmynster, the kyng's see bee rially ordeyned and tressid with clothis of silke and golde, and ryall quysshyns and tapets:—in the whiche the prynce shall sit abydyng the procession."[5] Again, the "Devyse" for Henry VIII. "He shall come yerely, as it

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used at the feast, doubtless, but not as a circumstance of the solemnity, properly so called. See Hall, *Chronicle*, *p*. 105.

[2] I extract the passage itself from Rymer: "Mane autem facto surrexit rex, et——egrediens de camera sua, descendebat in prædictam magnam aulam:——et, sedente rege in sede sua regali, ibidem paraverunt processionem suam." *Tom.* 3. *pars* iij. *p*. 63.

[3] *Vol.* 2, *p*. 115.

[4] *Chronicle*, *p*. 274.

[5] "Maner and forme of a coronacion." *Lansdown MS*. 285.

is founden in presidents by vj. of the clok from his chambre into Westm. hall. Where he shall sytte vnder cloth of estate in the marble cheyer apparelled with clothes and quysshyns of clothe of golde baudekyn, as it apperteyneth.—And it is to remembre, that the king's benche and all the place of the chauncerye be apparailed vndre feete vppon the raylls and along vppon the walls, with rede worsted."[6]

The actual communion of the sovereign, after the coronation, in the Abbey, requires one or two brief remarks. One point has been long doubtful in the modern coronation services: namely, whether the crown was to be removed before receiving the Holy Eucharist. In the order for George III. there was no rubric: and it is said, nor do I see any reason to doubt the fact, that when the king approached the altar, in order to receive the sacrament, he enquired of the archbishop, 'Whether he should not lay aside his crown?' That the archbishop asked the bishop of Rochester, but neither of them knew, nor could say, what had been the usual form. And the king, with his usual piety, determined within himself upon the fitting course which he should pursue: he took off his crown, and humbly laid it aside during the administration of the Sacrament. The archbishop (Secker) possibly had not examined any other Order than that immediately preceding, of George II. where, in like manner, no direction was given upon this matter: at least, it is certain that he took, and naturally, that Order for his guide; because the copy which he used is preserved at Lambeth, interlined and corrected with his own hand.

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[6] *Cotton MS.* Tiberius E. viij.

I have not been able to learn what was really the fact, at the coronations of K. George IV. and of William IV. and Queen Adelaide: there is no rubric in their Services regarding the removal of the crown before communion; and it is a curious circumstance, that some personages who were present, and close by, upon both occasions, assure me that they do not recollect whether the crown was laid aside or not.[7] But in the Order for the coronation of her present Majesty, as the reader will see below, there are these rubrics: and, at whose wish or recommendation soever they were at length introduced, we cannot but admire the reverence and religious feeling which thus set the question at rest, we may hope, for the future. "*The Queen*," says the rubric, "*descends from her throne—and goes to the steps of the altar, where, taking off her crown, she kneels down.*" And again, the Holy Eucharist having been received, before the post-communion; "*The Queen then puts on her crown, and taking the sceptres in her hands again, repairs to her throne.*"

As regards the coronations before that of George II. we know that there was no celebration of the holy

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[7] A thin folio volume was published in 1821, with the official "imprimatur" of the lord "Howard of Effingham, acting for the earl marshal of England," entitled, "The Ceremonies to be observed at the royal coronation of his most excellent majesty, K. Geo. IV." I should be inclined to suppose that these ceremonies were, as much as possible, observed, but I cannot state exactly what authority this document had, in opposition to the order of the Service itself. But, upon the section headed "The holy sacrament," it says "— his majesty will then descend from the throne, and go to the altar, where, taking off his crown, his majesty, *etc.*" And again: "— at the conclusion — the king will put on his crown, *etc.*"

communion in the case of James II. But if archbishop Secker had thought of examining the records of Charles II.'s he would have found that then the crown was removed. "After the offertory,— the king kneel'd before his ffaldstool, and layd his crown vpon the cushion at his right hand;—(after communion) the king arose, putt on his crowne, *etc.*"[8] And, if we go far back into the earlier ages, we shall find nothing which can lead us to suppose that the contrary was then the practice, although we may not be able to bring forward a decisive rule upon the point. Thus, as Matthew Paris relates it, we might be led to conjecture that the crown was not removed, at the third coronation of Henry II. "Apud Wigorniam coronatus est: ubi post celebrationem divinorum sacramentorum, coronam super altare posuit, nec ultra coronam portavit."[9] But it is of this very coronation that Hoveden tells us, of the king, and queen Eleanor, in a place already cited: "ubi cum ad oblationem venirent, deposuerunt coronas suas, et eas super altare obtulerunt."[10] It may be said that this does not prove much; but I understand the statement to mean, not merely that they made an oblation of their crowns, but that they did so, at the proper and accustomed time of removing them, that is, before the offertory, at the holy communion.

We find therefore that in the twelfth and in the seventeenth centuries, the custom probably was to remove the crown. But I am doubtful as to what was observed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The "Devyse" for Henry VIII. positively says that "the king

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[8] Walker. *Account*, &c. *p.* 118.

[9] *Hist. Angl. p.* 81.

[10] See above, *p.* xix.

crowned shall be ledde as above, and shall offre, *etc.*" nor is mention made, though the details are minute enough, of any laying aside of the crown at the receiving afterwards.[11] So in the account of Henry VI. the crown is plainly directed to be set upon his head, just before the communion, not to be removed until afterwards, before S. Edward's shrine. But with respect to this last case, the king for some cause or other, it is said, was "dyspoiled" of his proper coronation robes, immediately before the mass, and pontifically vested. "They rayde hym lyke as a bysshop shuld say masse, with a dalmatyk and a stole about his necke. And also as hosyn and shone and copys and gloves lyke a bisshopp. And then agen they set seynt Edwardes crowne on his hede." All the orders, I may observe, which I have quoted, speak particularly at this part of the ceremony, of "S. Edward's crown:" but the reader must decide whether it is probable, that in the course of time some peculiar sanctity was attributed to that crown, or that it was intended, as in the case of Henry VI., to complete, instead of a mitre, "the pontifical array."

Until the Order of K. William IV. it had been always directed, that "a towel of silk" or "houseling cloth" should be held before the king, during the receiving of the Sacrament. It was then omitted, nor was it restored in the Order of Queen Victoria. In the account of the coronation of Henry VI. we find that "the cardynall and the other bisshoppes helde the towell." In the "Devyse" for Henry VIII. that "two of the grettest estates then present held before the kyng and the queene a longe towell of silke."

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[11] Nor in the "Form, *etc.*" *Lansdown MS.* 285.

The kings of France and the emperors have long been permitted to communicate in both kinds, upon the solemnity of their coronations: and probably this, which has in modern times been rather looked upon as a concession or a favour from the court of Rome,[12] is but a continuance, which would not suffer interruption in their case, of that unquestionable right which all Christians once enjoyed, before the Cup was unhappily taken from them. I do not think that this privilege, from the twelfth to the sixteenth century, was claimed by the kings of England: the evidence seems against it. Grafton, in his continuation of Hardyng, says of Richard III. and his queen: "The kyng and the quene discended, and before the high altare, they were both houseled with one hoste, deuyded between them."[13] No mention is made of the chalice. Walsingham in his account of Richard II. says: "Obtulit archiepiscopo panem et vinum, unde postea, tam metropolitanus, quam ipse rex, communicati fuerunt."[14] This would appear to favour the argument in proof of both kinds. The MS. account, so often quoted, of K. Henry VI. speaks of the communion of the Body of our blessed Lord, but not of the Blood: and then of

[12] "Tandem post unctionem receptam communicare posse imperatorem sub utraque specie præcipue in die inaugurationis suæ, et in articulo mortis, ex bulla Clementis VI. refert Carrier tomo. 2." Catalani, *in pontif. Rom. tom.* 1. *p.* 388. "Tradit Spondanus ad annum 1352, Clementem VI. pontificem maximum, ob ingentia coronæ Franciæ in sedem apostolicam merita, Christianissimis regibus potestatem fecisse, sub utraque specie, quandocunque id optarent, communicandi; eos tamen illa potestate raro, nec nisi die inaugurationis suæ, et in viatico mortis, uti consuevisse." *Ibid. p.* 400.

[13] *P.* 517.

[14] See above, p. xxxiii.

"the wyne" in a manner which can only mean that it was taken, unconsecrated, as an ablution. "And than knelyng with humylite and gret deuocion, receyuing the thyrde parte of the holy sacrament vpon the patent of the archebisshoppes handes. Then come the bisshoppe of London with the grete solempne chales of seynt Edward, and serued hym with wyne." In the same manner, the "Devyse" for Henry VIII. "After the cardynall hath commoned his self, he hauing betweene his handes the same chalice wheruppon the holy sacrament shall be leyed, shall turne hymselfe vnto the king and the quene. And theye lying prostrate before hym shall sey their *Confiteor*, all the prelates answering, *Misereatur*. And the cardynall, seying, *Absolve*. That done, the king and the quene shall sumwhat aryse knelyng, and with grete humylitee and deuocion receyue the sacrament by the handes of the seid cardynall. This so done, the kinge and the quene shall stande vp, and take wine of the aboue reherced chalice, by the hands of the abbot of Westminster."[15]

I may observe that the fatigue of the sovereign, as not unfrequently noticed in the old histories and records, is to be referred to the obligation under which he was, to receive the holy communion, fasting. And "the Devyse" has an especial reference to this; succeeding the conclusion of the mass. "And also it is to

[15] So, this direction previously in the same MS. "The kyng shall offre an obbley of brede layed vppon the patent of Seint Edwardes chalice, with the whiche obleye after consecrate, the king shall be howseld. Also he shall offre in a cruet of golde, wyne, whiche he shall use in the chalice after he is howselde. And as well the seid patent with the obleye, as the cruce with wyne, shall be delyuered unto him by the Gospeller, at the tyme of his offrynge."

wite, that a certein place nere the seid shryne must be prepared with trauers and curteyns, by the usshers of the king's chambre. Wherunto immediately the king shall goo, and there breke his faste, yf hym lyste." We learn also from Rymer, that Richard II. had already heard matins and mass, before he left his chamber: "surrexit rex, et auditis servitiis Dei, et missa,—descendebat."[16] He had not of course communicated; though, according to the theology of the day, reception of the consecrated Eucharist would not have broken his fast.

There are but one or two subjects remaining, before I would close my remarks upon the Coronation Service.[17] And first; as to the place where it should be performed. This has been, since the reign of Edward the confessor, fixed at Westminster, a rule which was

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[16] *Fœdera, tom.* 3. *pars.* iij. *p.* 63.

[17] In the turbulent period immediately preceding the Conquest, the "Peace of the Church" was extended to the eight days which the coronation solemnities were to occupy. "Die quo primum coronatus est, quæ dies tenet octo." *Leges ecc. S. Edw. regis.* Wilkins. *concilia. tom.* 1. *p.* 312. The law itself speaks of this as the "Pax regis," but it is clear from the 3rd law, that this was the same with its more usual title, "Pax Dei et sanctæ ecclesiæ." In the same and the succeeding century, the publication of this Peace, to be strictly observed under pain of excommunication, at certain periods of the year, became frequent. See Knyghton, *de event. Angliæ.* Script. x. *tom.* 2. *p.* 2356. Hoveden, *Ann. p.* 343. Wilkins, *tom.* 1. *p.* 585. Lyndwood. *lib.* v. *tit.* xvij. Auctoritate Dei. *verb.* Pacem. The usual periods specified, were from Advent to the octave of the Epiphany; from Septuagesima to the octave of Easter; from Ascension-day to the octave of Pentecost; the Ember-weeks; from vespers on all Saturdays, until the Monday; on the greater Saints-days, and their Vigils; in parishes, on the feasts of their patron-saints; and upon all occasions of going to dedications of churches, to synods, or chapters.

only broken upon extraordinary occasions, or when the ceremony, as we have seen above, was repeated. But in more ancient times, other places received that distinction: Kingston-on-Thames, and Winchester; concerning which last-named city I would quote a passage from the Winchester annals, as it testifies to a very early coronation which I did not mention before, namely of K. Egbert. "Revertens inde Wintoniam, mandavit omnibus majoribus regnorum quæ conquisierat, ut convenirent ad illum die certo Wintoniam: veniunt Wintoniam clerus et populus, et assensu omnium partium coronatus est Egbertus in regem totius Britanniæ."[18]

Next, as to the right of consecrating the new sovereign. This has always been claimed by the archbishops of Canterbury. In proof of this, and of the allowance of it, the evidence of an historian, who was probably born before the Conquest, has been appealed to by almost every writer on the subject. He is relating the coronation of William I. and that it was not, as according to ancient usage, performed by Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury. His words are: "In nativitate Domini unctus est in regem apud Westmonasterium a beatæ memoriæ Ealredo archiepiscopo Eboracensi, et nonnullis episcopis Angliæ. Quam consecrationem licet ipse rex et omnes alii optime nos-

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[18] *Cotton MS.* Domitian. A. 13. Dugdale. *Monasticon. vol.* 1. *p.* 205. The annals go on to say. "Edixit, illa die, Egbertus ut insula in posterum vocaretur Anglia, et qui Tuti vel Saxones dicebantur, omnes communi nomine Angli vocarentur." This assertion has been credited by some writers, but rejected by others: whether true or false, it does not affect the fact of the coronation of K. Egbert at Winchester. A charter in the *Textus Roffensis* gives Egbert the title, "rex Anglorum." *p.* 97.

sent debere specialiter fieri, et proprie a pontifice Cantuariensi, tamen quia multa mala et horrenda crimina prædicabantur de Stigando qui eo tempore ibi pontifex erat, noluit eam ab ipso suscipere, ne maledictionem videretur induere pro benedictione."[19] In the succeeding century, on occasion of the coronation of K. John, the right of the archbishop of Canterbury was no less recognized: which is clear from the fact that a protest was made on the part of the archbishop of York, that the solemnity should not be, unless he also was present. Which protest was disregarded. "Hubertus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus coronavit, et consecravit in regem Angliæ præfatum Johannem, —— Philippo Dunelmensi episc. appellante, ne coronatio illa fieret in absentia Gaufridi Eboracensis archiepiscopi, totius Angliæ primatis."[20]

I must extract a document of the reign of Richard II. which does not plainly acknowledge *the right* of the archbishop. This is the royal mandate to the primate to attend at the coronation. "Richardus, Dei gratia, *etc.*, venerabili in Christo patri Simoni, eadem gratia archiepiscopo Cantuar. totius Angliæ primati salutem.

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[19] *Hist. Nov.* p. 6. I am not concerned with the true reason, why Stigand was not permitted to consecrate the king: the "horrenda crimina" of Eadmer, might probably without much difficulty, be made to shrink down into less serious political offences. Brompton, in his chronicle, declares that Stigand himself refused to perform the ceremony: and Malmsbury, who follows Eadmer in representing the interference of the archbishop of York to have been caused by the king, yet speaks of Stigand's disability as having been produced only by censures from the court of Rome: which had favoured the Conqueror's invasion. The reader may consult Collier. *Ecc. Hist. vol.* 1. *p.* 237. And, I am bound to add, for an unfavourable character of Stigand, Malmsbury, *de gestis. p.* 46.

[20] Hoveden. *Annal.* p. 451. *edit.* Savile.

Quia firmiter credimus et speramus, quod, accepto coronationis et consecrationis munere, summi regis potentia virtuosa in regimine populi regni nostri de bono semper in melius diriget actus nostros, ac nos die Jovis in crastino translationis sancti Swythini prox. futur. apud Westm. proponimus, auctore Domino, coronari; vobis mandamus, firmiter injungentes, quod hujusmodi coronationis nostræ solenniis, dictis die et loco celebrandis, personaliter intersitis. Et hoc, sicut nos, et honorem nostrum diligitis, nullatenus omittatis. Teste meipso, *etc.*"[21] This "breve regium" is interesting and important in several respects; but the reader will hesitate, I think, before he attributes much weight to the omission of which I have spoken. For there was no likelihood at that time that the archbishop would *not* be able to attend, and personally exercise his right; nor is it the kind of document in which, necessarily, this privilege would be specially noticed and acknowledged. Again, there is an earlier summons, A. D. 1308, Edward II., in a case where the archbishop was abroad, and the right is not only clearly enough acknowledged, but, if he could not return, he was required to nominate his deputy. "Et, si forte, aliquo casu contingente, vos, quod absit, contigerit impediri, ita quod die et loco prædictis, non poteritis vestram præsentiam exhibere, tunc vices vestras alicui de vestris suffraganeis committatis, qui officium, quod in coronatione nostra prædicta vobis incumbit, exequatur, et exerceat vice vestra."[22]

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[21] Wilkins: *Concilia. tom.* 3. *p.* 119.

[22] Rymer: *Fœdera. tom.* 1. *pars.* iv. *p.* 111. I cannot omit the following from a royal letter to the pope, upon this same case of archbishop Winchelsey: "Et quia regum Angliæ coronatio ad

But as it is not necessary to heap up evidence upon this prerogative of the metropolitan see, I shall merely add, that archbishop Parker strongly insists upon the right of the primate to appoint a deputy: and he cites this case of archbishop Winchelsey, but without giving any authority. After enumerating other privileges, he continues: "præter dictas eminentias et prærogativas, etiam reges a Londinensibus et Wintoniensibus episcopis, archiepiscopis Cantuariensibus mortuis vel absentibus, tanquam eorum vicariis, in coronatione ungi et sacrari solebant. Qua ratione Edwardus rex ejus nomine secundus ab Henrico Woodlock Wintoniensi episcopo consecratus fuit, absentis archiepiscopi mandato; quod Robertus Winchelsey tum archiepiscopus ab exilio, in quod ab Edwardo primo actus erat, nondum reversus fuerat; ut in vita ejusdem Roberti deinceps declarabitur."[23] The passage in the Life is equally direct, to the same purpose: "Cum Edwardus secundus corona regia consecrandus esset, Wintoniensis episcopus tunc archiepiscopi vice, ejus absentis literis et speciali mandato, in rege consecrando functus sit."[24] So, when speaking of the coronation of queen Mary, by bishop Gardiner, without a

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archiepiscopum Cantuar. qui pro tempore fuerit, pertinet, et pertinuit ab antiquo; nosque, *etc.*" *ibid. p.* 105. Compare also the form in which the archbishop of York was summoned: in the same words as other bishops, and abbots. *ibid. p.* 108.

And somewhat more than a hundred years before, the same privilege of the see of Canterbury was recognised and insisted on by the court of Rome: a bull of pope Alexander III. in 1170, commences with the assertion, "quod coronatio regis Angliæ, et inunctio ad Cantuar. archiepisc. de antiqua ecclesiæ suæ consuetudine et dignitate pertineat." *Quoniam ad audientiam.* Bullarum. Coll. *tom.* 2. *p.* 407.

[23] *De antiquitate Brit. Eccl.* p. 31.

[24] *Ibid. p.* 312.

delegated authority from archbishop Cranmer: "Regina Maria — a Gardinero Winton. episcopo, sine expresso jure aut exemplo, quoniam ea res ad metropolitanum spectabat, uncta regnoque initiata est."[25]

I must not omit to mention, that archbishop Parker claims as another privilege of his see, the right to

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[25] *Ibid.* p. 509. Holinshed relates a case very much to the point, but he does not state his authority, and I do not see that it is noticed either by Matthew of Westminster, or Malmsbury, or Huntingdon. But thus it is. "Some write, that Elnothus, the archbishop of Canterbury, a man endued with all virtue and wisdom, refused to crown him: [Harold, A. D. 1036] for when the king required the said archbishop that he might be of him consecrated,—to whom only it did appertein to invest him with the crowne and scepter,—the archbishop flatlie refused, and with an oth protested, that he would not consecrate anie other for king, so long as the queen's children lived. The sceptre and crowne I here lay downe vpon the altar, and neither do I denie nor deliuer them unto you: but I forbid by the apostolike authoritie all the bishops, that none of them presume to take the same awaie, and deliuer them to you, or consecrate you for king."*Chronicles. vol.* 1. *p.* 182.

As soon as archbishop Parker's book was finished, there was published a little volume by the Puritans, with this title. "The life off the 70. Archbisshopp off Canterbury, presentlye settinge, englished, and to be added to the 69, lately sett forth in Latin. This numbre off seuenty is so compleat a number as it is great pitie ther shold be one more: but that as Augustin was the first, so Matthew might be the last." Then follows the Life of Parker, as written by himself, translated. But to our present subject, I extract what the puritan author says of this privilege just spoken of in the text. "From this steppe he clymeth vppe another, yet higher, that the kinges off this realme are crowned, and made by him, as that which off right is properlie due unto him." *Sign.* D. v. Thus merely repeating the archbishop's statement, without an attempt to disprove it. Some idea of this publication may be gathered from the title that it gives to the first archbishop, namely, "the hellish Augustine." It is a matter of congratulation that this, and many more of the same kind, written by the Elizabethan puritans, are among the most rare books of the time.

marry the sovereigns and princes of the realm of England. And speaking of this right, he notices another point, bearing immediately upon the subject of this dissertation. He says: "Regias etiam nuptias Cantuarienses archiepiscopi conjungunt, et benedicunt. Cum enim in Windsoriæ castro, quod in Salisburiensi diœcesi situm est, Salisburiensis episcopus episcopali jure, tanquam in propria diœcesi, in Henrici regis primi cum Atheleida Godefridi Lotharingiæ ducis filia nuptiis, sacrorum celebrationi se audacter ingessisset; ab omnibus proceribus acclamatum est, hoc jus Cantuariensium archiepiscoporum esse proprium: regesque ac reginas, ubicunque in Anglia degerent, ejus esse speciales atque domesticos, ut Gervasius diserte loquitur, parochianos, totumque regnum etsi diversis diœcesibus distinctum sit, ratione primatus ejus esse parochiam. Atque hæc adeo vera sunt, ut regiæ procerumque oblationes, sive in regio sacello, sive in quacumque ecclesia cathedrali, conventuali, vel parochiali, præsente archiepiscopo inter sacra factæ, nec illius diœcesis episcopo, nec conventui aut capitulo, nec ipsi sacelli regii decano, nec parocho, aut alteri cuicunque, sed archiepiscopo Cantuariensi soli debeantur. Nam in his quæ ad divinum cultum in principis aula pertinent, præcipua semper fuit cura atque solicitudo archiepiscopi."[26]

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[26] *P.* 40. The archbishop cites as his authority Gervase of Canterbury, "*in act. pont. Cant.*" Bromton also in his chronicle relates the same occurrence, but without the particulars introduced into the text, and which unquestionably very much modify the features of the case, as given by him. "Rex Henricus —— consilio totius Angliæ apud Wyndesore congregato, Adelinam filiam Godefridi duxit solemniter in uxorem: ubi Radulphus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus ad iracundiam et paralisim plurimum inclinatus

This privilege, if correct, would entitle the archbishop, I presume, to the oblations made by the sovereign at a coronation. I understand, however, that these oblations were not claimed by the archbishop at the late solemnities: perhaps, from not remembering the statement made by archbishop Parker; perhaps from a desire not to assert claims which might possibly be disputed, or to insist upon matters of secondary, although, in their kind, of considerable importance. The only memorial (or "fee" as it is called) allowed to the archbishop, was the chair he sat upon. For my own part, I regret, that the right to the oblations was not also remembered, and, at least, duly considered, if not ultimately pressed.

Lastly, I would observe upon the various Orders, which, either in the text or notes, the reader will find in this volume, that they will enable him to trace the Coronation Service of the Church and Realm of England, from the present time back to the eighth century: a period of eleven hundred years. No other church or country can produce a series so complete. Selden[27] regretted that although he had found many particulars in our old historians, he yet could not venture upon their warrant to construct the Ceremonial. He appears to have known of no ancient coronation ritual of the English Church, except the imperfect volume in the Cotton library, containing the order of K. Ethelred. This, though a fragment only, he printed: and he attempted to compensate for what he wanted by the

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episcopum Sarisberiensem ad officium desponsationis peragendum sacris vestimentis cedere coegit indutum, et Wentano episcopo officium delegavit." *Script*. x. *tom*. 1. *p*. 1014.

[27] *Titles of honour*. *p*. 149.

Form appointed in the modern pontifical of the church of Rome, abounding, as the student may easily assure himself by a comparison, with very numerous and important variations from the old English Use; and by the coronation service of K. Charles V. of France, also having many differences. I trust, that the deficiencies of which that learned writer complained, are now fully supplied.

It would not be right to speak of the coronation service which I have edited in this volume, as "of the Use of Sarum;" although taken from the pontifical of that church: nor, in like manner, of the same service, as according to the Use of Winchester, or Exeter. Those churches, at the periods when the particular copies of their pontificals were written, now at one time now at another, adopted and included, according to its then state, this office, which formed one of the chief duties of the bishops of the church. The coronation-service was always "according to the Use of the Church of England": or, on account of its high privilege as the place where the solemnity was to be performed, "according to the Use of the Church of Westminster." So also, in modern times, the coronation service must be regarded as "according to the Use of the Church of England."[28]

The earliest state in which we find the Order, as it

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[28] It is to be wished that the coronation-service was attached to our Common Prayer Book: and in the authorized Form, according to which it had last been used. People would then consider a coronation, more justly than many now do, not as a civil, but as a religious solemnity: and would regard their sovereign not only as a Person crowned, but as a Person sacred and anointed. At present it is so difficult to obtain a copy of the Service, that it is scarcely probable they can know much about the subject.

was in the pontifical of Egbert, archbishop of York, in the eighth century, is different indeed from that in which it was last left, upon the occasion of the coronation of her present Majesty. The alterations, whether of omission or addition, have been made very gradually: and it is probably true, that there has never yet been a coronation, without the service being subjected to some change, either for the better or the worse. The records of Ethelred, Henry I. Edward II. and Richard II. prove this, no less than those of James I. or George I. or Queen Victoria.

With respect to the authority, by which the Coronation Service from time to time has been revised and approved, I am able to state as to the late occasions, upon information derived from the highest source, that an order of council is directed to the archbishop of Canterbury, who, according to his own judgment, prepares a "Form and Order." On the one hand, doubtless, due attention must be paid to the expressed wishes of the sovereign on particular points; upon the other, those wishes must be well considered, lest rites and ceremonies should be too hastily omitted, which, from a constant observance of them through a long series of generations, may claim the character of being essential to the right performance of a solemnity so high and sacred. I cannot in candour pretend to conceal my regret, that some changes, scarcely called for, were introduced upon the occasion of K. William IV. But that was a time when the outcry was extreme against any thing which bore the impress of antiquity; and it is moreover probable that there were then reasons, why certain alterations should be made, which now might not be regarded as of much weight or value.

CHAPTER IV.

HAVING thus spoken of the Coronation Service, I would now make some remarks upon another office, also royal, which not unfrequently is found in the pontificals: namely; "De exequiis regalibus:" as it is added in the Rawlinson MS. c. 425, in the Bodleian, "cum ipsos ex hoc sæculo migrare contigerit." I have not printed this, which consists solely of a single rubric, as the reader will find it in the first volume of this work, page 107. The paragraph beginning "¶ Deinde si corpus regis inuncti fuerit," and ending "honestissime tradatur sepulturæ," is the same with the office, "De exequiis regalibus," when it was placed separately in the pontificals. In the manuscript from which the episcopal services, edited in these volumes, are taken, this office is inserted upon a blank leaf, at the end of the book, by a somewhat later hand. It forms a part of the Liber Regalis, preceded by an illumination.

A curious and valuable order, in English, has been published in the Archæologia;[1] which I transcribe. "What shall be don on the demyse of a king annoynted.

"When that a king annoynted is decessed, aft' his body is sp'ged, it must be washed and clensed by a bishop' for his holy annoyntem', than the body must be bamed, wrapped in laun, or reynez yf it may be

[1] *Vol.* i. *p.* 348.

gotyn, than hosyn cherte, and a perer of shone of rede lether, and do on his surcote of cloth, his cap of estate on his hed, and then ley hym on a fair borde cou'ed with cloth of golde, his on hand on his bely and a sep'r in the toder hande, and oon his face a kerchief, and so shewed to his noblez by the space of ij. dayez and more yef the weder will it suffre.

"And when he may not godely longer endur, take hym away and bowell hym, and then eftones bame hym, wrappe him in raynez wele trameled in cords of silke, than in tarseryn tramelled, and than in velvet, and so in clothe of gold well tramelled, and than led hym and cofre hym, and in his leed w^t hym a plate of his stile, name, and the date of our Lord gravyn, and yef ye cary hym, make an ymage like hym clothed in a surcote w^t a mantell of estate, the laces goodly lying on his bely, his sept'r in his hande, and a crown on his hed, and so cary hym in a chare open w^t lights and baners, accompanyed with lords and estates as the counseil can best devyse, having the hors of that chare trapped with diu'se trappers or elles w^t blake trappers of blake with scochons richely betyn, and his officers of armes aboute hym in his cotes of armez, his herneysz upon hym, his salet or basenet on his hed crowned, a shylde and a spere till he come to the place of his ent'ring."

There appears to be but little difficulty in understanding this Order, whether in the Latin or English; except upon one point: as to the covering of the face: "oon his face a kerchief," says the latter; and the former, "postmodum caput cum facie ipsius sudario serico cooperiatur." But a chief object of the ancient *lying* in state, certainly was, that the sovereign might be known to be dead, by his subjects; and an English

account of the obsequies of K. Edward IV. attached to the same MS. from which I have just extracted, declares that the corpse was exposed, not only with the face but with the greatest part of the body naked, "openly x. or xij. hourez, that all the lordes both spirituell and temp'ell sawe hym so leying, and then he was sered."

To this fact we have frequent reference in the old chronicles. Concerning Richard II., it is not surprising that many writers notice it; as it was pretended afterwards that he was still alive. Four contemporary authors speak of it: Otterbourne,[2] Walsingham,[3] Hardyng[4] and Froissart. The last says, that the king lay at Cheapside, full two hours, his head on a black cushion, and his face uncovered.[5] So with respect to Henry VI. we are told that after his death, "on the morrow he was chestyde [coffined] and brought to St. Paul's, and his face was open that every man might see him."[6] Again, Ras-

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[2] "Ea pars saltem corporis, per quod cognosci poterat, facies scil. ab ima parte frontis usque ad guttur." *p.* 222.

[3] *P.* 363.

[4] *P.* 357.

"At poules his masse was done
 and diryge,
In hers royall semely to royalte,
The kyng and lordes clothes of
 golde there offerde,
Some viij. some ix. upon his hers
 were proferde."

[5] *Vol.* ii. *p.* 762. In spite of these proofs, other people would not believe that it was, after all, the body of the king. See, for example, the French metrical history of Richard's deposition, quoted above; where the author declares, *p.* 221, "I certainly do not believe that it was the old king; but I think it was Maudelain, his chaplain, who so exactly resembled him: &c." But this Maudelain was known to have been publicly executed before in London. *Walsingham. p.* 363.

[6] Chronicles of the White Rose. *p.* 131.

tell leads us to conclude that such was the case even with the neglected corpse of Richard III.[7]

But the reasons for exposure which were of importance in these cases, could not have been considered with regard to Edward IV. already mentioned, and others, incidentally noticed presently: we must suppose, therefore, that the covering of the face directed in the rubric, was not to take place, until after sufficient time had previously elapsed for recognition by the people. We have no difficulty in proving that the other parts of the Order were generally observed, and I select a few examples.

Of Edward the confessor his biographer tells us: "Parantur interim regales exequiæ, pretiosis lintheis et optimis palliis corpus involvitur, pauperes Christi eleemosynis sullevantur."[8] And before his time, we

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[7] *P.* 299.

[8] Ailred Abbas. *Script. x. Tom.* i. *p.* 402. And in the account of the first translation of the body, we have some further particulars: "Primum deinde pallium quo sacratissima membra fuerat involuta, pristinam venustatem et integritatem reservasse conspiciunt.—Extracto pallio cætera ornamenta vestesque considerant, et omnia solida invenerunt et integra." *ibid. p.* 407. In almost modern times, (in the reign of James II.) his tomb was broken, it was said accidentally, and the head of the corpse was found to be surrounded with a narrow diadem of gold. A crucifix of pure gold was also, it was asserted, found under the shoulder blades, with a gold chain: this was taken away by the person who discovered it, and given to K. James. A pamphlet was published, relating the circumstances; but there is very much in it that is suspicious, and I cannot help disbelieving the whole history. It is said by the author, "Chas. Taylour, Gent," (the plunderer himself), "it is highly remarkable, that the crucifix should have been found on that day whereon the late rebellion began in the West, and much about the same hour in the afternoon when they landed." This was Monmouth's enterprise. The pamphlet is a 4to. London. 1688.

learn concerning king Edgar, but not from a contemporary, and therefore the reader must draw his own conclusion from the phrase; "corpus vero illius Glastoniam delatum regio more est tumulatum."[9] Shortly, however, after the Norman conquest,[10] we have authenticated cases, and the details of various particulars. Thus, most of the historians mention the neglect with which, immediately after death, the corpse of Henry II. was treated; and the bleeding which burst forth, on the approach of his son Richard.[11] Giraldus Cambrensis (no partial friend, and one who would not have complained of the omission of any token of respect, except those usual and necessary) says: "In crastino vero, cum ante altare principale corpus sepulturæ traditur, vix annulus digito, vix sceptrum manu, vix capiti corona sicut decuit, quia de aurifrigio quodam veteri inventa fuit, vix ulla prorsus insignia regalia nisi per emendicata demum suffragia, eaque minus congruentia, suppetiere."[12] Lastly, I must quote Matthew Paris; and as my object here is not to reconcile apparently conflicting statements of chroniclers, I shall merely observe that the discrepancy between him and Giraldus, does not seem to amount to more, than that Paris does not record the difficulties which were in the way of procuring the requisite regal ornaments. "In crastino autem dum

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[9] Hoveden. *Annals. edit. Savile. p.* 244. *b.*

[10] For a circumstance said to have occurred at the burial of the Conqueror himself, "expleta exsequiarum solemnitate," see Hemingford, *Chron. cap.* xi. *p.* 461. and Matt. Par. *Hist. p.* 11.

[11] See, among others, Knyghton, *Chron. Script. x. Tom.* 2. *p.* 2400. Hoveden, *Annal. p.* 372. *b.*

[12] De instructione principum. *p.* 158. *Edit.* Anglia Christiana.

portaretur ad sepeliendum, regio indutus apparatu, coronam in capite habens auream, et chirothecas in manibus, calceamenta auro texta in pedibus et calcaria, annulum magnum in digito, et in manu sceptrum, accinctusque gladio, discooperto vultu jacebat."[13]

Concerning the younger Henry, who died during his father's lifetime, Matthew Paris says: "Corpus autem in lineis vestibus, quas habuit in consecratione sacro chrismate delibutas, regaliter involutum."[14] Of K. John we learn, from the same historian, not only that his body, "regio schemate ornatum, ad Wigorniam delatum est;" but also that, "abbas canonicorum Crokestoniæ peritissimus in medicinis, facta anatomia de corpore regio, ut honestius portaretur, viscera copioso sale conspersa, in sua domo transportata, honorifice fecit sepeliri."[15]

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[13] *Hist. Angl. p.* 126. Giraldus, I may add, positively asserts in another work, that the king was buried without any regal ornaments. *De vita Galfridi, Archiep.* in Wharton's Anglia Sacra. *Tom.* 2. *p.* 382.

[14] *Ibid. p.* 117.

[15] *Ibid. p.* 242. I cannot say that the reader of the old chronicles will be amused, for the subject is too solemn, but he will be interested with the various speculations which he will find in many of them, as to the condition, after death, of the soul of K. John. At least, they tell us a fearful tale of the miseries and calamities of his subjects, and the popular accusation of himself, as the immediate cause. Even concerning K. Stephen, of whose reign the Saxon chronicle has given us such a terrible description, I do not remember to have met with any similar remarks. Matthew Paris' own opinion is doubtful: "Sperandum est autem, et certissime confidendum, quod quædam bona opera, quæ fecit in hac vita, allegabunt pro eo ante tribunal Jesu Christi;" and he specifies the good deeds which he could recollect; "construxit enim abbatiam Cisterciensis ordinis de Bello loco; et moriturus domui de Crokestuna decem librarum terram contulit

It was usual also to remove the brain; and there is a remarkable circumstance recorded, concerning Henry I. I take the account from Henry of Huntingdon. "Rex namque Henricus obierat: cujus corpus allatum est Rotomagum, et ibi viscera ejus et cerebrum et oculi consepulta sunt. Reliquum autem corpus—coriis taurinis reconditum est causa fœtoris evitandi, qui multus et infinitus jam circumstantes inficiebat. Unde et ipse, qui magno pretio conductus securi caput ejus diffiderat, ut fœtidissimum cerebrum extraheret, quamvis linteaminibus caput suum obvol-

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opulentam." *p.* 242. He relates however, more hopefully as it were, the vision of a monk some ten years after; to whom the dead king appeared. "Quem monachus recognoscens, ac memoriter recolens, quod mortuus fuisset, scistitabatur ab eo, qualiter se haberet. Cui rex: ita me habeo, quod nemo pejus. Nam hæc mea quæ vides indumenta, adeo ardentia sunt et ponderosa ut nullus qui in sæculo vivit, illa tangere sufficeret præ ardore, vel propter ponderositatem portare, quin protinus moreretur. Sed tamen per Dei clementiam spero et gratiam ineffabilem—me quandoque misericordiam adepturum." *Ibid. p.* 280. The vision of another monk, recorded by Walter Hemingford, gives a contrary view of the matter. *Chron. cap.* cvij.

I have mentioned this subject, as being curious and important in many respects: and I would also take this opportunity of directing the reader's attention to the frequent descriptions which he will find in the middle-age historians, of visions of purgatory. Some of these are as horrible in their details, as the imagination can conceive. One thing is shewn; that the doctrine of purgatory in those days had not arrived at its full maturity of correctness, as afterwards expressed in its several details. Thus, we find in Matthew Paris, the soul of a certain clerk, enduring punishment: "et cum inquirerem, utrum misericordiam se aliquando consecuturum speraret, respondit: væ mihi, væ mihi, scio quod ante diem judicii omnino misericordiam non merebor: an autem vel tunc, incertum habeo." *p.* 157. But this ignorance could not be, according to the doctrine, as it is now settled, of the church of Rome.

visset, mortuus tamen ea causa pretio male gavisus est." [16]

I must not omit to quote a part of the will of K. Richard II. "Item volumus et ordinamus quod corpus nostrum in velveto vel sathano blanio, more regio, vestiatur, et etiam interretur, una cum corona et sceptro regiis deauratis, absque tamen quibuscumque lapidibus: quodque super digitum nostrum, more regio, annulus cum lapide pretioso ponatur." [17]

The English order quoted above, directs an image of the dead king to be made: thus, for example, it was done for Henry V. "Superposita namque fuerat cistæ, in qua corpus ejus habebatur, quædam imago staturæ et faciei regis mortui simillima, clamyde purpurea satis longa et larga cum furrura de ermyn induta, sceptrum in una manu, et pila rotunda aurea cum cruce infixa in altera, corona aurea in capite, super capellum regni, et sandalis regiis in pedibus impositis." [18] Among the records in the Chapter-house at Westminster, is an original minute of council for the ceremonial of the funeral of queen Catherine of Arragon: in which, among other matters, it is ordered that there should be provided, "a cast or puffed Ymage of a princesse apparailled in her robes of estate, wt a cronall uppon her hed in her heare, wt rings, gloves, and juells upon her handes." [19]

These "effigies" were commonly placed upon the

[16] *Historiarum. Lib.* viij. *edit. Savile. p.* 221. *b.* The archdeacon of Huntingdon rather unkindly adds, "Hic est ultimus e multis, quem rex Henricus occidit." See also, *ibid. p.* 276. Hemingford, *chron.* Angl. script. *Tom.* 2. *p.* 479. Matt. Paris, *Hist. p.* 61.

[17] Rymer. *Fœdera. Tom.* 8. *p.* 75.

[18] Walsingham, *Hist. Angl. p.* 407. Holinshed, *Vol.* 3. *p.* 584.

[19] Printed in the Archæologia,

tomb afterwards, coloured to represent life, and habited in the proper costume and vestments of the day. Or, they were replaced by others, of a more lasting material, which, where they have been spared to us, still furnish some of the most valuable records of their kind to which it is possible for us to refer. Who is there, having once seen it, who does not remember the most noble and beautiful figure of queen Eleanor, upon her tomb in the confessor's chapel, in Westminster abbey?[20]

When it was necessary to bring the royal corpse from a distance, to the place of sepulture, it was customary at the various places, commonly abbies, where it rested, to meet it with solemn processions: and also, in the towns through which it passed. Thus, for instance, when Edward I. died. "Post principis prædicti decessum, venerabilis pater dominus Petrus cardinalis, et clerus Angliæ, cunctique regni nobiles, qui interesse poterant, obviam corpori undique occurrerunt, solemnes processiones, ad quas venerat, per ecclesias, faciendo."[21] And it is most probable, that it was not moved on, upon the succeeding day, until after mass had been said. We may conclude this, I think, from Walsingham's statement as to Richard II. "Cujus corpus per loca celeberrima—ubi contigit pernoctare, monstratum est post officium mortuorum, et in crastino post missam peractam."[22]

I cannot close these remarks upon the Order "de

Vol. 16. *p.* 23. The ceremonial is directed, not for "queen" Catherine, but for "the right excellent and noble Princesse the Lady Catherine,—late wief to the noble and excellent prince Arthur, *etc.*"

[20] Engraved in Stothart's Monumental Effigies: a work admirably executed, and of much value.

[21] *Walsingham.* Hist. Angl. *p.* 95.

[22] Ibid. *p.* 363.

exequiis regalibus," without reminding the reader, that in various antiquarian publications, there are accounts printed of the opening and examination of royal tombs, which fully prove that the rubric was generally both carefully and accurately observed. One of the most interesting of these accounts, is that of the opening of the tomb of K. Edward I. in the year 1774. In which, passing by the state of the body itself, we find that it "was wrapped up within a large square mantle, of thick linen cloth, diapered, and waxed on its under side. The head and face were entirely covered with a *sudarium*, or face cloth, of crimson sarcenet,—formed into three folds. When the folds of the external wrapper were thrown back, and the *sudarium* removed, the corpse was discovered richly habited, adorned with ensigns of royalty.—Its innermost covering seemed to have been a very fine linen cerecloth, dressed close to every part of the body, and superinduced with such accuracy and exactness, that the fingers and thumbs of both the hands had each of them a separate and distinct envelope of that material.—Next above the cerecloth was a dalmatic, or tunic, of red silk damask; upon which lay a stole of thick white tissue, about three inches in breadth, crossed over the breast, and extending on each side downwards, nearly as low as the wrist, where both ends were brought to cross each other. [This stole is minutely described to be jewelled and embroidered.]—Over these habits is the royal mantle, or pall, of rich crimson satin, fastened on the left shoulder with a magnificent *fibula* of metal gilt with gold.—The corpse from the waist downwards, is covered with a large piece of rich figured cloth of gold, which lies loose over the lower part of the tunic, thighs, legs, and feet, and is tucked down behind the soles of the latter. There did not remain any appearance of gloves: but

on the back of each hand lies a quatrefoil.—Between the two forefingers and the thumb of the right hand, the king holds a sceptre with the cross made of copper gilt.—Between the two forefingers and the thumb of his left hand, he holds the rod or sceptre with the dove: —the stalk is divided into two equal parts, by a knob or fillet, and at its bottom is a flat ferule.—On the head of the corpse, which lies within a recess hollowed out of the stone coffin, is an open crown or fillet of tin, or laten, charged on its upper edge with trefoils, and gilt with gold.—On a careful inspection of the fingers, of both hands, no ring could be discovered: but we may conjecture, that on the shrinking of the fingers, the royal ring had slipped off, and buried itself in some part of the robes, none of which were disturbed in order to search for it.—The cloth was not removed from the feet, so it is uncertain whether they have sandals on them or not.[23]"

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[23] Archæologia. *Vol.* 3. *p.* 376, &c. These volumes are not common, and I need scarcely apologize for the length of the above extract. People will of course form their own judgment as to the propriety of opening any tombs or graves whatever: if the occasion justifies such an undertaking, and if it be conducted with all possible solemnity and care, not with irreverent remarks, and from idle curiosity alone, I must confess that it would appear to rest upon reasonable grounds. One thing is very certain; that prying into graves is not of modern date, but that we have many ancient examples. And from mere curiosity also; as in the case of the prior of S. Augustine's, in the time of Henry III.; who opened the tomb of S. Augustine, to satisfy himself that the body actually was there. Thorn. *Chron. Script. x. Tom.* 2. *p.* 1876.

In the Anglia Sacra, *Tom.* 2. *p.* 227, is printed the official account, drawn up at the time, of the opening of the supposed tomb of archbishop Dunstan, at Canterbury, in the year 1508. There were found some bones; and an inscription, which though much relied on by archbishop Warham, in proof of the identity of the re-

CHAPTER V.

THE Services, in this volume, after the Order of Coronation, are those which relate to the ordination of priests, deacons, subdeacons, &c., and to the consecration of bishops. We have here a subject of enquiry before us, so vast, and branching out into so many collaterate questions, that I almost fear to enter upon it at all, in the necessarily confined limits within which I must keep myself. I shall propose therefore to do little more, than lay before the reader some collections from the English councils, and canonists, much in the same way as in the Dissertation in the first volume, bearing upon and illustrating the rubrics and ceremonies of the services themselves. Other matters, of no little interest, will be found discussed in the notes attached to those services.

I shall scarcely even approach the question, how far and in what sense we are justified in considering

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mains, seems to me to cast very considerable additional doubt upon the fact, and somewhat more than a suspicion of collusion. The inscription was "Hic requiescit sanctus Dunstanus archiepiscopus:" and it was argued that the tomb had never been disturbed. A correspondence followed between the archbishop and the monks of Glastonbury, who had claimed, for some centuries, possession of the body: and the reader will be repaid by a careful perusal of the whole matter. It is an unhappy exposure of ignorance and superstition on the part of the country-people, of something very like deceit in the monks, and partiality in the archbishop: who settled the dispute by declaring, if the convent of Glastonbury would not withdraw their claim, that he would excommunicate all persons who should presume to visit their pretended relics.

"Orders"[24] to be a sacrament: in some sense it is undeniable that it must be so regarded, as also are confirmation, and matrimony by the homilies of the church of England. We cannot receive the Ordinal of our Church, without acknowledging the truth of this, and echoing the words of S. Ambrose, "Homo imponit manum, Deus largitur gratiam: sacerdos imponit supplicem dexteram, Deus benedicit potenti dextera."

[25]There is no lack of evidence that before the 16th century, the English church regarded orders in the same light; and I am not now concerned with the proof, if any such were needed, that she also ranked this rite too highly, and not according to the more just measure and rule of the Holy Scriptures, and the primitive ages. Thus, a synod of Durham, in the year 1220, in its canon, "de numero sacramentorum" first specifies five, and then continues: "Duo vero sequentia sunt ordo et conjugium, nec omnium licet quorundam, nec per eorum virtutem peccata dimittuntur, sed in eorum altero, scilicet in conjugio, peccatum fornicationis vitatur; in altero, scilicet ordine, quorundam virtutes au-

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[24] "Ordo" when we meet with the term in the Fathers, may be understood in at least two ways, according to the context: either for the sacred rite itself of ordination, or for the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and various degrees of the ministers of the Church, which would seem to be its original and most strict interpretation. In this last sense, S. Augustine declares: "Ordo est parium dispariumque rerum sua cuique loca tribuens dispositio." *De civit. Dei. Lib.* xix. 13. 1. In the former we are to understand the Latin *Ordinatio*, or *Sacra Ordinatio*, and the Greek χειροτονια or χειροθεσια. The definitions of which by the canonists may be reduced to this: "Ritus sacer seu sacramentum, quo spiritualis potastas confertur sacramenta conficiendi et ministrandi, cæteraque ecclesiastica munia pro jure obeundi."

[25] De dignitate sacerdotali. *cap.* 5. see also his treatise, de Spiritu Sancto. *lib.* 1. cap. 5. 1.; S. Chrysostom, *de sacerdotio, lib.* 3. § 4; and S. Augustine, *contr. Parmen. lib.* 2. cap. 13.

gentur." [26] Again, the famous synod of Exeter, in the year 1287; "Est et septimum sacramentum, sc. ordo; nam, sicut in veteri testamento sacrificia offerebantur, non per quoscunque, sed vocatos a Domino; ita nec in novo, nisi per ipsos, qui ad hoc sacros susceperint ordines, ecclesiastica sacramenta poterunt dispensari."[27] So also Lyndwood in his gloss upon a constitution of archbishop Peckham: "*Ordo.* Istud est unum de duobus sequentibus [i: e: sacramentis] et sextum in numero, alias connumeratis præcedentibus: et nota quod Ordo, prout est sacramentum ecclesiæ ut hic, est signaculum quoddam, per quod spiritualis potestas traditur ordinato. Secundum *Thomam* istud sacramentum pertinet ad generationem spiritualem."[28] And once more, the "Pupilla Oculi:" which commences with the enumeration of seven sacraments, of which the fifth is "Ordo:" and presently has several chapters "de sacramento Ordinis."[29]

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[26] Wilkins. *Concilia Tom.* 1. *p.* 574.

[27] *Ibid Tom.* 2. *p.* 130. cf. *p.* 295. a canon of a synod at Winchester, A. D. 1308. and cardinal Pole, *Reform. Angl. fol.* 9. *b. edit.* Aldus. 1562.

[28] *Lib.* 1. *Tit.* 7. Ignorantia. *verb.* Ordo.

[29] The "Pupilla oculi," once a very famous book, is now exceedingly rare, and but little known; nor do I believe that it has been printed since the reformation. As this is the first time that I have quoted it, the reader will not object, probably, to seeing its full title: from which he will be able to form some judgment as to its contents; and the value of them, as a record of the practice and opinions of the clergy of the English church, during the middle ages: "¶ Pupilla oculi, omnibus presbyteris præcipue Anglicanis summe necessaria: per sapientissimum divini cultus moderatorem, Johannem de Burgo, quondam almæ universitatis Cantabrigien. cancellarium: et sacræ paginæ professorem, necnon ecclesiæ de Colingam rectorem; compilata anno a natali Dominico, M.ccc.lxxxv. In qua tractatur de septem sacramentorum administratione, de decem præceptis decalogi, et de reliquis ecclesiasticorum officiis, quæ oportet sacerdotem rite institutum non

There is not the same ease in arriving at the decision of the English church, before the reformation, as to the number of the various orders. This, in fact, has always been an open question in the western Church: nor, as one might have supposed, did even the council of Trent venture to set it at rest among the doctors of the Roman communion. Her canon is: "Si quis dixerit, præter sacerdotium non esse in ecclesia catholica alios ordines et majores et minores, per quos velut per gradus quosdam in sacerdotium tendatur, anathema sit."[30] By which decision, if decision it may be called, it is really wonderful to perceive how carefully the via media has been taken, so as not to condemn the Greek church upon the one hand, nor the old schoolmen on the other; and how the great controversies are carefully *not* affected; for example, how many and what these "ordines majores et minores" are; whether they are all of Divine institution; whether all are of the nature of a sacrament, and equally so; whether all equally impress a character upon the person ordained; and others of the like kind.[31]

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ignorare; jam primum accuratissime castigata, atque tersissime in lucem edita. Impensis honestissimi ac fidelissimi mercatoris Wilhelmi Bretton." *Paris. Wolfgang Hopylius.* 1510. *sm. Folio.* Another edition before me, is by *Regnault, Paris,* 4to. 1514.

I may add that a "Pupilla" is referred to, earlier than this of De Burgo, in a sentence of excommunication settled by a provincial council at York, A.D. 1311. See Wilkins, *Conc. Tom.* 2. *p.* 414.

Another book of the same kind was the "Manipulus curatorum:" in which, as the first sentence declares, "pernecessaria officia eorum quibus animarum cura commissa est breviter pertractantur." This was frequently printed by both Wynkyn de Worde and Pynson. It treats of the sacraments, the articles of the faith, and the ten commandments. I shall have occasion to refer to it, as we proceed.

[30] Sess. XXIII. Can. 2. Comp. *Cap.* II. of the same session.

[31] The "Catechismus ad parochos" however, does not speak

They, who denied that there were seven orders only, encreased the number sometimes to eight, by adding the Episcopate; sometimes to nine, by adding the Tonsure; and others would even make a tenth, by distinguishing the archbishops of the church.[32] The chief difficulty rested with the episcopate: whether bishops were to be considered as distinct from priests, not merely in the degree of their office, but in its nature.

There are so many duties common to both bishops and priests, that we may regard the two degrees as but one Order: "both are ministers of Christ and stewards of the mysteries of God; both are invested with the cure of souls: both are sent to teach and preach the Gospel of Christ: to baptize: to celebrate the eucharist: to bless the congregation:"[33] but there still remains the very high power, attached to the one only, of sealing with the Holy Spirit in confirmation, and of conferring orders. The balance of authority, even from the earliest ages, certainly inclines to consider

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with so much hesitation: "Docendum erit, hosce omnes ordines septenario numero contineri, semperque ita a catholica ecclesia traditum esse, quorum nomina hæc sunt. *etc.*" And it accurately distinguishes between the greater and the minor orders. *p.* 199. *Edit.* Aldus. 1566.

[32] Morinus, *de sacr. Ordin. Pars.* 3. *Exercit.* 3. *cap.* 1. Where are collected the various authorities on the different points of the question. I cite a place from S. Isidore, (who appears by it, also, to have included the tonsure,) as illustrating the term *clericus*. "Omnes qui in ecclesiastici ministerii gradibus ordinati sunt, generaliter clerici nominantur." *De eccles. off. lib.* 2. *cap.* 1.

[33] Palmer, *Treatise of the Church. vol.* 1. *p.* 374. I cannot agree with Mr. Palmer however in including confirmation within the offices common to both: because, although as Habertus says, *Pontif. Græc. p.* 709, the Greek church permits her priests to confirm, yet it is only by special commission, and with chrism previously hallowed.

the episcopate, as an Order, to be identical with the priesthood, but the completion of it; and I think that this may mainly be attributed, not so much to the fact that many offices are common to both, as that one chief office and power is so; namely, that of consecrating the Holy Eucharist. Much, however, as I would desire to pursue this question further, I must nevertheless proceed to matters more immediately within my subject.

The opinion in the Anglo-saxon age generally, seems to have been that the number of orders was limited to seven. Late in the seventh century we find a constitution, beginning: "Septem sunt dona spiritus sancti, et septem gradus sunt ecclesiasticorum ordinum et sacrarum functionum."[34] Again, in the canons of Ælfric: "Seven degrees are established in the church—the sixth diaconus, the seventh presbyter."[35] Once more, in the pastoral epistle of the same Ælfric: "Beloved, seven orders are appointed in books [on bocum] for God's ministries in Christ's church."[36] Against these, we have the following in the Ecclesiastical Institutes, about the same period, in the chapter "De munere et dignitate sacerdotum." "Ye ought also to know, that your orders are the second orders after our orders, and the next to us; like as the bishops are in the stead of the apostles in the church of the holy, so are the mass-priests in the stead of Christ's disciples."[37]

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[34] Wilkins. *Conc. tom.* 1. *p.* 62.

[35] Thorpe. *Ancient Laws and Institutes. vol.* 2. *p.* 347.

[36] *Ibid. p.* 379. Again, almost immediately after, in the same, in plain words: "Beloved, understand that both are of one order, the bishop and the mass-priest, that is, of the seventh church order, as holy books tell us."

[37] *Ibid. p.* 403.

For later opinions, I shall content myself with quoting, first, the Pupilla Oculi. "Septem sunt ordines sive gradus: et sic loquendo de ordine, ut est sacramentum, et characterem imprimit;—prima tonsura non est ordo sed dispositio quædam ad ordinem.—Episcopatus autem non est ordo proprie, sed dignitas, sive excellentia in ordine, tum quia non imprimit characterem, tum etiam quia omnis ordo ordinatur ad sacramentum eucharistiæ."[38] And secondly, Lyndwood: "Ut volunt theologi quasi omnes, solum sunt septem ordines. Unde secundum eos, tonsura, quæ vocatur psalmistatus, non est ordo sed solum dispositio ad ordines: sic etiam episcopatus, secundum eos, non est ordo in quantum sacramentum, sed dignitas. Ordo namque sumitur

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[38] *Pars*. vij. *cap*. 1. C. The author of the "Manipulus curatorum," is decided against reckoning the tonsure as an order, but he continues; "De episcopatu vero utrum sit spiritualis ordo dubito." *Lib*. 5. *Cap*. ij. And Guillermus Parisiensis, *de vij. sacramentis*, draws a distinction similar to that laid down in the Pupilla, saying also, that the episcopate presupposes the priesthood, and depends upon it. *fol*. xij. *b*. But he does not clearly decide the point, that is, in his opinion. I quote this book, as it was also in much estimation among the English clergy of the 15th century. Compare also, the "Parochiale curatorum," *Tit*. 9. *cap*. vj. *edit*. 1514.

T later opinions of the Roman theologians seem to incline to consider the episcopate as a distinct order: see Perrone, *Prælect. Theol. vol.* viij. *p*. 126. Dens *Theologia*. *tom*. 7. *p*. 39. But Thomas Aquinas plainly said, "episcopatus non est ordo." *In* 4. *sect*. *dist*. 24. *q*. 2. *art*. 2. And Bonaventure, "Episcopatus, prout distinguitur contra sacerdotium, non est proprie nomen ordinis, nec novus character imprimitur, nec nova potestas datur, sed potestas data ampliatur." *Opera*. *tom*. 5. *p*. 369. Bellarmin takes a middle line between the two extremes. He reckons seven orders, and dividing the priesthood, declares that ordination to the episcopate is a sacrament, confers grace, and impresses a character. *Opera*. *tom*. 3. *p*. 609. Compare Bonacina. *tom*. 1. *Disp*. viij. p. 219.

multipliciter. Nam aliquando est nomen dignitatis, et sic episcopatus dicitur ordo: aliquando est nomen officii, et sic psalmistatus dicitur ordo: aliquando est nomen spiritualis potestatis, et sic diaconatus dicitur ordo."[39]

As an office, there is no evidence that the "Modus faciendi tonsuras" can be traced higher than the seventh century. Hence we do not find any prayers or forms in the oldest MSS. and sacramentaries, "de clerico faciendo." Not that it can be disputed, that the practice of distinguishing the clergy by their hair, is of very high antiquity: first probably introduced to a moderate and seemly extent, for the sake of outward decency and gravity, according to the admonition of the Apostles; afterwards restricted within the limits of a certain fashion, and shape. And it is not difficult to trace the progress of these restrictions, in the canons of successive councils, as time went on.[40] The reason why, about the time that I have mentioned above, the conferring of the tonsure came to be a separate and distinct office, probably was, because parents were then accustomed to dedicate their children to the

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[39] *Lib.* 3. *Tit.* 1. Ut clericalis. *verb.* Ordinis. But compare *Lib.* 1. *Tit.* 4. Eos qui. *verb.* Sacros ordines: where he enumerates eight. I may add here, that it was not simply through humility, but probably as claiming their highest privilege, that we find bishops anciently styling themselves priests, and ministers. Thus a letter of a bishop of Durham to king Henry V. is subscribed "Your humble Preest of Duresme." Cotton MS. Vesp. F. xiij. *fol.* 29. And archbishop Becket, before his murder: "Clamavit aliquis, ubi est ille proditor?—aliquis alius; ubi est archiepiscopus? Ille; ecce ego, non proditor, sed presbyter Dei." *Vita S. Thomæ Cantuar.* edit. Sparkes. *p.* 86. Compare Ralph de Diceto. *apud Angl. Sacr. Pars.* 2. *p.* 691.

[40] Cf. Carth. IV. *Can.* 44. Barcinon. *c.* 3. Toletan. 4. *c.* 40. And others, cited by Morinus, *p.* 203.

sacred ministry, and to leave them in monasteries, at an age too young to permit of their performing even the lowest functions of ostiarius or lector: when, nevertheless, it was desirable that a mark should be set upon them, that they were no longer merely secular.[41]

As to the shape, and fashion of the tonsure, many writers have not hesitated to trace it up to the authority of S. Peter himself. For instance, Rabanus Maurus. "Sunt quidam doctorum, qui asserunt, diversas ob causas Petrum apostolum hunc ritum primum sumpsisse primitus."[42] But long before his time, Bede records an epistle of the abbot Ceolfrid, about the year 710, to whom an application had been made, for an opinion, concerning the variety of tonsures: who says; "inter omnes tamen, quas reperimus tonsuras, nullam magis sequendam nobis amplectendamque jure dixerim ea, quam in capite suo gestabat ille, cui se confitenti Dominus ait, 'Tu es Petrus.'—Neque vero ob id tantum in coronam attondemur, quia Petrus ita attonsus est; *etc.*"[43] And such would seem to be still

[41] Whence the definitions of the canonists may be reduced to this: "*Tonsura;* cæremonia ab ecclesia instituta, qua laicus baptizatus, et sacramento confirmationis consignatus, sacro ritu in clerum instituitur."

[42] De instit. Cleric. *lib.* 1. *cap.* 3. *Bibl. Patrum. Auct. tom.* 1. *p.* 546. See also Alcuin, *cap.* de tonsura; Amalarius, *de div. Off. Lib.* 2. *Cap.* 5. Compare also the prayer or exhortation in the office below, beginning, "Oremus, dilectissimi."

[43] *Hist. Ecc. Lib.* 5. *Cap.* 21. The excerpts however of his contemporary Egbert, although they recognize the tonsure of S. Peter, follow another common view taken by the early canonists: "Exordium tonsuræ a Nazaræis incepit, qui crine servato post vitæ magnæ continentiam caput radebant, ut devotionem Domino consecrarent." Wilkins. *Conc. tom.* 1. *p.* 111. I am not speaking of the varieties of the tonsure in that age, but of its supposed original. The disputes which took place in the eighth century as to the proper shape of the ton-

the accredited teaching of the church of Rome, according to the Tridentine catechism. "Primum autem omnium, ferunt, apostolorum principem eam consuetudinem induxisse ad memoriam coronæ, quæ ex spinis contexta Salvatoris nostri capiti fuit imposita."[44]

It is most probable that in England, before the reformation, the strict rules which were in force that a bishop should confer orders only within the limits of his own diocese, except with license, did not apply to the giving of the tonsure. The common opinion of the canonists inclined to that liberty, and it was therefore generally exercised. I would observe that one of the decrees of the council of Trent, at first sight, appears to have removed this privilege from the bishops of the Roman communion: "Nulli episcopo liceat, cujusvis privilegii prætextu, pontificalia in alterius diœcesi exercere, nisi de ordinarii loci expressa licentia, et in personas eidem ordinario subjectas tantum."[45] But the later commentators understand this to have respect to the public wearing of the pontifical vestments on such an occasion; and that if performed privately, the conferring of the tonsure is still permitted.[46]

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sure, are well known. That the clergy should be distinguished by their dress, from the rest of the people, to a moderate extent, is just and reasonable. Whether "tonsure" was a distinction of such a kind, must depend of course upon the customs of the age, and it certainly sprung from a commendable zeal, though not according to knowledge, and it received the sanction of ecclesiastical authority. Remembering however the arguments which each party produced, and the heat with which the controversy was pursued, it is to be lamented that such a subject should have been thought sufficiently weighty, to divide the Church.

[44] *p*. 200. *Edit*. Aldus.

[45] Sessio VI. *De reform. Cap*. 5.

[46] Cf. Bonacina. *tom*. 1. *Disput*. viij. *p*. 224. And the expo-

I would remark here that not only bishops, but priests, by special permission, or privilege, as in the case of abbots, were permitted to confer the tonsure: and even the minor orders. Thus, the Pupilla laid down: "Episcopus et nullus inferior eo, potest ordines conferre auctoritate propria et ordinaria potestate. Alii vero non episcopi, ut abbates, ex privilegio vel speciali permissione possunt minores ordines conferre. Sacros autem solus episcopus."[47]

At a very late period we find the tonsure ordered to be given to those scholars, who were to be educated at the expense of the cathedral establishments throughout the realm. The legatine constitutions of cardinal Pole divide these scholars into two classes, according to their age: and further direct: "Incedent autem omnes, utriusque sint classis, cum tonsura et vestitu clericali, eodemque vivendi modo utentur, et divinis in ecclesia officiis inservient."[48] And that this was not a new custom, we may conclude from what Knyghton says of the early years of archbishop Edmund, in the reign of Henry II. "In primis annis, capitis dolore ita acriter vexatus est, ut in literis de-

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sitions of Balsamon and Zonaras upon the 14th and 35th Apostolical canons: Bevereg. *Pandect. tom.* 1. *p.* 9. 24.

[47] *Pars.* vij. *Cap.* 2. A. Compare *Cap.* 1. C. Modern writers of the Roman church limit this, to cases of special dispensation from the court of Rome. There is a privilege extant, of pope Innocent VIII. in 1489, giving to some Cistercian abbots power to ordain to the diaconate. This has been a great perplexity to the later canonists, and some deny that the privilege was really granted. See Henriquez, Summa, *in add. ad lib. X. de Ord.* Vuitasse *de Ord. pars.* 1. 5. 2. Morinus. *Exercit.* xi. *Cap.* 2. Hallier. de Ord. *tom.* 2. *p.* 274.

[48] Wilkins. *Conc: tom.* 4. *p.* 125. The same archbishop, also, in the "Reformatio Angliæ," orders the like habit and tonsure, for the poor scholars. *p.* 24.

inceps proficere desperaret: cui mater ait: Fili, arbitror, laica et inordinata quam gestas tonsura doloris tui est causa; unde et postmodum clericaliter attonsus doloris incommodo caruit.[49] The same writer also relating the horrible cruelties of the Scotch, in Edward I.'s time, says: "Quod auditu horrendum est,—parvos clericulos primas literas addiscentes ad numerum circiter ducentorum in scolis existentes, obstructis ostiis igne supposito concremaverunt."[50]

I must add a few remarks upon the tonsure, as observed by the minor or the higher orders. There are frequent canons directed against neglect, or concealment of it. "We enjoin, that no man in holy orders conceal his tonsure," is the 47th of the canons under K. Edgar.[51] Again, in the 13th century, some synodal constitutions of the diocese of Norwich: "Clerici vero non beneficiati, qui reprehensibiles fuerint in tonsura, ut ad superiores ordines, aut ad beneficium admittantur, quousque per tantum tempus tonsuram gesserint competentem, quo judicant præteriti temporis scandalum redemisse."[52] And the poems (so-called) of Walter Mapes, shortly before this time, make the contempt of the tonsure, one token of the irreligious priest. "Hic generosior tonsuram despicit, Alter ad clerici nomen erubuit." Like some men now-a-days, those priests of the middle ages, desired to be in dress, as well as in their occupation and pur-

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[49] De event. Angliæ. *Script. X. tom.* 2. *p.* 2432.

[50] *Ibid. p.* 2488. See also, an anecdote from Fordun, *Scotichronicon, Lib.* viij. *c.* 18. cited in a note to Giraldus Cambr. *de instr. princ. edit.* Anglia Xtiana. *p.* 187.

[51] Thorpe. *Ancient laws.* &c. *vol.* 2. *p.* 255.

[52] Wilkins. *Conc. tom.* 1. *p.* 735.

suits, as little different from laymen as they could be; "Sic inter laicos clerus defloruit."[53] Lastly, one of the visitation articles for the diocese of London, in Q. Mary's reign, enquires: "Item, whether they and every each of them doth go in priestly apparel and habit, having their beards and crowns shaven? or whether any of them doth go in laymen's habits and apparel, or otherwise disguise themselves, that they cannot easily be discovered or known from laymen?"[54]

There was a difference, it is quite clear from the English councils, between the "tonsura" and the "corona": although the two are frequently confounded, and sometimes both meant by the use of either term alone. When both are named, one must doubtless be understood to relate to the length of the hair, the other to the bare circle on the top of the head: the shaven crown. I shall cite some canons directed to this point. Of York, in 1195. "Statuimus etiam, ut clerici, qui ab episcopo coronam susceperunt, tonsuram habeant, et coronam." Of the provincial council at Oxford, in 1222: "ut nec ipsi, nec alii clerici comam nutriant, sed honeste tonsi et coronati convenienter incedant." Of a synod at Lambeth, in 1261: "Item statuimus, quod omnes —— qui privilegio clericali gaudere voluerint, tonsuram decentem, et coronam rasi capitis deferant competentem."[55] The following sup-

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[53] Apocalypsis Goliæ. *l.* 329.

[54] Wilkins. *Conc. tom.* 4. *p.* 107. Compare the Injunctions of cardinal Pole for the diocese of Gloucester; *ibid.* p. 146. It is well known that to be reduced to a lay condition, as a punishment, involved the removal of the tonsure: and early in the eighth century, we find this specified, among the excerpts of Egbert, (citing Fructuosus,) in the case of a criminous monk: "coronam capitis, quam gestat, amittat." *Ibid. tom.* 1. *p.* 105.

[55] Wilkins. *Conc. tom.* 1. *p.*

port the distinction which I have suggested: a constitution of bishop Cantilupe, in 1240: "*De clericorum tonsuris.* —— nec crines, nec comam nutriant, sed decenter et circulariter tondeantur, coronam habentes decentis amplitudinis, secundum quod exegerit ordo, quo fuerint insigniti." And a pastoral epistle of archbishop Morton: "Incedent etiam omnes et singuli presbyteri, et clerici ejusdem nostræ provinciæ, coronas et tonsuras gerentes, aures patentes ostendendo."[56] Lyndwood has a gloss upon the provincial constitution cited above. "*Tonsi;* hæc tonsura sic fiet, ut aures sint patentes. Et hoc, si religiosus sit, altius: si sæcularis, dimissius. Et sic, quod inter presbyterum et alios inferiores sit differentia. *Coronati;* rasura superior, et tonsura inferior, faciunt de circulo capillorum coronam."[57]

Before I proceed to other matters connected with this great subject of ordinations, I must again remind

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502. 589. 755. Compare *p.* 626. 716. *tom.* 2. *p.* 4. and *tom.* 3. *p.* 60. Also "coronæ patentes;" *tom.* 1. *p.* 382 and 551.

[56] *Ibid. tom.* 1. *p.* 670. *tom.* 3. *p.* 620. cf. *p.* 658. The corona "decentis amplitudinis" refers to the dimensions which, according to the use of some churches, were encreased, with each successive step in the sacred ministry: at least, as Lyndwood remarks, in the text, the corona of the priesthood was distinguished from that of any lower order.

[57] *Lib.* 3. *tit.* 1. Ut clericalis. And compare J. de Athon. *cap.* Quoniam de habitu. *verb.* Tonsuram.

If the student desires to investigate accurately the subject of the Tonsure, its history, various fashions, the mystical reasons proposed for it, the laws and canons of the Roman church directed towards its proper observance, and other details, he should consult Thomassin, *Ecc. discipl.* Pars. 1. *lib.* 2. Durandus. *Rationale. lib.* 2. *cap.* 1. Saussajus, *Panoplia Cleric.* Lib. 1. 2. and the less common ritualists, Alcuin, Amalarius, or the Gemma Animæ, in Hittorpius' collection, or in the *Auctarium* to the Bibl. Patrum, *tom.* 1.

the reader, that I shall be anxious to furnish him with a selection of extracts from the councils and authoritative books of the English Church only, in number and in variety sufficient to enable him, not merely to understand the offices which I have edited, but also the doctrines which were to be held, and the practices which were to be observed regarding the clergy in general, from the Anglo-saxon age, down to the sixteenth century. I shall but very rarely refer to authors who have treated the subject at large, such as Thomassin, or Saussajus, or Martene, or Morinus, or Catalani, and many others; not to mention the canonists, Van Espen for example, or those who have directed their enquiries more particularly towards the Eastern Church, as Goar and Habertus: but I seek rather to supply the deficiencies which they have left, respecting the decisions and observances of that branch of the Church of Christ, with which we are the more intimately concerned, namely, of the Church of England.

First, as to the preliminary examinations which were to be had, before admittance into any of the Orders, whether the greater or the minor. In the middle of the eighth century, the 6th canon of the council of Cloveshoo is addressed to this point: "*De examinatione eorum qui ordinandi sunt.* Sexto statuitur decreto; ut episcopi nullum de clericis seu monachis ad sacrum presbyteri gradum ordinent, nisi prius ejus vitam, qualis extiterit, vel tunc quæ morum probitas, ac scientia fidei existat, manifeste perquirant." In the same century, later, about the year 785; at the council of Chalcuith: "Sextum decretum: ut nullus episcoporum presbyterum aut diaconum ordinare præsumat, nisi probatæ vitæ fuerint, et officium suum recte implere possint." I pass over the intermediate time,

until the provincial council at Oxford, in 1222: which, in its canon "*de ordinibus et ordinandis*," prohibits, upon the authority of the ancient ecclesiastical statutes, "ut nullus ad ordines accedat aut admittatur, nisi qui fuerit canonice examinatus." Shortly after, the famous legatine constitutions of Otho were published: of which the sixth is: "*De scrutinio ordinandorum.* Sacer ordo eo est digno dignius conferendus, quo ab ordinato sacramenta cætera conferuntur. Quare cum periculosum sit, minus dignos ordinari, statuimus, ut ante collationem ordinum per episcopum indagatio diligens habeatur."[58]

And we find the same care taken up to the period of the reformation. The statutes of a provincial council in 1529 direct: "Statuimus et ordinamus, quod nullus clericus sæcularis de cætero admittatur ad sacros ordines, nisi habuerit literas testimoniales curati

[58] Wilkins *Conc. tom.* 1. *p.* 95. 147. 595. 651. Johnson, having translated this last constitution in his Ecclesiastical Laws, adds a very senseless remark below it: I notice it, because the same mode of reasoning is occasionally employed, when other means fail, by persons who have neither the learning nor the usual discretion of that writer. He says: "here we may see the great carelessness which then prevailed in ordaining clergymen." It just shews the very contrary. And if his inference is correct, we ought to conclude in a similar way from the canons of the Church of England now, and the often repeated admonitions of her bishops, that no care is taken in ordaining fit persons to the sacred ministry; or from the charge given by S. Paul to Timothy, that even in that early age, men commonly were no less hastily ordained.

This constitution of Othobon is further remarkable, for the following provision: "ne reprobatis, qui fuerint reprobandi, approbatis, se clanculo immiscere valeant reprobati, in examinatione scribatur numerus, et nomina probatorum; et qui scripti fuerint postmodum in ordinationis limine, perlecta scriptura discretione solita requirantur; ipsaque scriptura apud episcopum vel ecclesiam cathedralem conservetur."

et œconomorum vel parochiæ, in qua natus, beneficiatus, vel per triennium proxime præcedens commoratus fuerit, sub sigillo archidiaconatus jurisdictionem habentis; seu, si in aliqua universitate studens fuerit, sub sigillo commissarii universitatis Oxon. seu vicecancellarii Cantabrig. cum testimonio superioris loci sui. —— Exacte etiam curent episcopi, ut neminem de cætero ad subdiaconatus ordinem promoveant, nisi eum qui adeo sit exercitatus in evangeliis et epistolis sacris, saltem in missali contentis, ut eorundem sensum grammaticalem examinatori prompte et expedite reddere valeat: sitque eorum quilibet sufficienter instructus etiam in aliis ad ordinem illum, quem tunc assumpturus est, per sacros canones requisitis, et in officiis divinis secundum morem ecclesiæ et loci consuetudinem promptus et expertus; habeatque præterea in presbyterum ordinandus cætera ad ipsius officium et ordinem ipsis sacerdotibus necessario requisita."[59]

The provincial canon cited above, of the year 1222, was repeated in almost the same words, under archbishop Walter Reynold, one hundred years after: and upon this examination I extract Lyndwood's gloss. "De hac examinatione quando, per quos, et de quibus fieri debet, habes 24 *di. c. quando:* debet enim examinator inquirere de vita, genere, patria, ætate, institutione sive titulo ordinandi. Item de loco ubi conversatus est, de conscientia, fide et hujusmodi. Item de his quæ concernunt regulam Apostolicam, *etc.*"[60] "Hic

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[59] Wilkins. *Conc. tom.* 3. *p.* 718. Compare the canon of the convocation of 1557. *ibid. tom.* 4. *p.* 159. And the sixth decree of cardinal Pole's "Reformatio Angliæ."

[60] *Lib.* 1. *tit.* 5. *verb.* Canonice examinatus. The "Pupilla oculi" says: "Ordinandi non sunt rigide examinandi, sed summatim cum quodam temperamento, et non requiratur nimia perfectio. Tria

nota, quod in ordinibus celebrandis primo fit examinatio, sc. per tres dies ante diem ordinum celebrandorum. Et tunc in die ordinum celebrandorum archidiaconus, vel examinator alius ad hoc deputatus, in actu celebrationis ordinum præsentabit episcopo ordinanti ipsos ordinandos."[61] Upon the legatine constitution of Otho, his commentator J. de Athon, has a very ample gloss, of great importance, to which I am forced to refer the student:[62] citing only this, upon the word "periculosum." "Sc. ordinanti, cum ordinat indoctum loco docti: magistrumque facit qui vix discipulus esse po-

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vero in ordinandis potissime requiruntur: sc. literatura sufficiens, ætas legitima, morum honestas." *Pars*, vij. *cap*. 3. G.

[61] *Ibid. verb.* Præsentatores. See Hostiensis *in summa. cap.* De scrutinio in ordine faciendo. This canonist was of high authority in the Church of England, as appears from the frequent reference to him not only by Lyndwood, but also by the rubrics of the old service-books of the church. See, for example, in the *Ordo Sponsalium, vol.* 1. *p.* 59. and *note* 32. *p.* 60. The Pupilla, I must add, speaks of a double examination, in a passage, of which the last part is worth the reader's attention: "Duplex scrutinium fieri debet ante ordinis collationem: primum debet fieri per archidiaconum. Vel per alios sacerdotes et viros prudentes, quos a latere suo mittet episcopus ad locum ubi celebrandi sunt ordines.—— Aliud scrutinium fit in ipsa ordinatione, quando ordinandi præsentantur episcopo ante altare, cum archidiaconus dicit: *Postulat sancta mater ecclesia*, etc. [See below, *p.* 160.] Et talis præsentator hujusmodi responsione non peccat, dum tamen non loquatur contra conscientiam, nam quem nescit indignum debet æstimare dignum: quod si archidiaconus sciverit aliquem indignum vel conscientia sua de præsentando talem remordeat, tunc antequam veniatur ad ordinationem secrete studeat episcopo intimare. Et si episcopus nolit desistere, archidiaconus debet eum subtrahere: et si hoc non potest sine scandalo, debet illa verba dicere, tanquam minister ecclesiæ, quæ non judicat de occultis: sed nullo modo debet crimen fratris publicare." *Pars* vij. *cap*. 3. E.

[62] *Cap.* Sacer ordo.

tuit. Is enim culpæ est reus, qui tali indigno ordinem, curam, vel officium committit. Unde episcopus scienter ordinans indignum dicitur peccare mortaliter. Ratio est, quia infidelis est, *etc.* Item periculosum est decentiæ ecclesiæ in scandalo populari."

Not only were strict examinations insisted on, previously to the conferring of orders, but there were certain disabilities which either barred altogether the reception of them,[63] or, at least, required a dispensation.

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[63] There are numerous canons, and decisions of canonists, against the conferring of any orders upon women. Very anciently there were undoubtedly heretics, such as the Collyridians, who practised such ordinations, but the Catholic Church instantly and unhesitatingly condemned them. Compare also the *Constit. Apost. lib.* 3. *c.* ix. Some have argued that nevertheless, in the first centuries, women were ordained, and appeal to the "presbyteræ," and "episcopæ," whom we meet with in many records. But these were the wives of priests and bishops, either before or after their ordination: in the former sense, according to the 19th canon of the council of Turin: cited by Bingham: (*vol.* 1. *p.* 338.) "Si inventus fuerit presbyter cum sua presbytera, aut diaconus cum sua diaconissa, aut subdiaconus cum sua subdiaconissa, annum integrum excommunicatus habeatur." Labbe. *Concil.* *Tom.* 5. *p.* 858. Nor can the deaconesses of the primitive ages be taken as any precedent for such a custom: for independently of their functions being strictly kept separate from any matter appertaining to the priesthood, or to the public service of the Church, and being limited to the performance of mere secular duties, such as visiting the sick, and catechizing women, &c. it is very doubtful whether they received imposition of hands. I cannot enter into this question, but would refer the reader to Baronius, *sub an.* xxxiv. and to the 19th canon of the council of Nice, with the notes of Balsamon and Zonaras, in Bevereg. *Pandect. Tom.* 1. *p.* 82. And even if after all, there may seem to be a balance of evidence in favour of some imposition of hands, yet this was in the way of a benediction, and not of ordination. See Justellus, *Bibl. Jur. Canon. tom.* 1. *p.* 75. Casalius, *de sacr. Christ. ritibus: pars.* 2. *cap.* xxix. Bingham,

Among them were the following. Illegitimacy: as specified by the Winchester canons, in 1308: "*De matrimonio:*—ejus quanta sit virtus in Dei ecclesia, per hoc facile cernitur, quod sola proles, quæ in fide thori gignitur, ad dignitates ecclesiasticas admittitur; et aliter genita, sine dispensatione canonica, ab hujusmodi, reprobatur."[64] And by a provincial canon of archbishop Edmund, in the preceding century: upon which I quote Lyndwood. "Tales, [i: e: qui de non legitimo matrimonio nati sunt,] ordinari non debent. Dicitur enim communiter per doctores, quod illegitime nati non possunt ordinari ad sacros ordines sine dispensatione Papæ, nisi ingrediantur religionem, quo casu possunt ad omnes sacros ordines promoveri etiam sine dispensatione. Possunt tamen illegitime nati

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Antiq. Book. 2. *Chap.* xxij. I quote also this from the Manipulus Curatorum: "Et si forte in aliquo capitulo mulier inveniatur vocari diaconissa vel presbytera, intelligendum est quod illa vocatur diaconissa, supra quam fundabatur aliqua benedictio: presbytera autem vocatur, quia secundum morem primitivæ ecclesiæ erat uxor presbyteri: vel forte aliqua vidua de rebus ecclesiæ curam habens ad instar matrisfamilias vocabatur presbytera. Et ita exponenda sunt omnia capitula quæ loquuntur de ista materia." *Lib.* 5. *cap.* v. Compare also Guillermus Parisiensis: *de vij sacramentis. fol.* xiij.

It is not necessary to dwell upon the analogy sometimes insisted on, from the circumstance that civil power and jurisdiction are exercised by women: for the nature of the ecclesiastical ministry, instituted by our Blessed Lord, is in fact so different, that the two cases are not analogous. Sometimes the example of abbesses is appealed to, but the decision upon this point of the canonists is unanimous: "illarum potestatem non esse veræ jurisdictionis, quæ videlicet ex auctoritate clavium descendat ecclesiæ concessa, sed earum munus ad vigilantiam referri, ad curam quandam, domesticam, maternam et œconomicam."

Upon the whole question compare the decision of Lyndwood. *Lib.* 1. *Tit.* 7. Sacerdotes. *verb.* Masculi.

[64] Wilkins, *Conc. Tom.* 2. *p.* 295.

promoveri ad ordines minores ex dispensatione episcopi."[65]

The children of serfs or villeins: of which we have frequent examples in the earlier centuries. The 16th of the famous articles of Clarendon decides, "Filii rusticorum non debent ordinari absque assensu domini, de cujus terra nati esse dignoscuntur." In the next century, 1256; a canon of the diocese of Chichester: "Ut nullus se nobis offerat ordinandus, nisi liberæ conditionis existens; de legitimo matrimonio natus, et examinatione canonica examinatus, et approbatus."[66] From an allusion in a canon of the Exeter synod of 1287, we learn, that in spite of all precautions, such persons, by pretending that they were free, and suborning witnesses, obtained ordination; to which falsehood the penalty of excommunication was attached: and some years before this time, it was ordered by another council, that such persons should be suspended: "Præcipimus itaque, quod sacerdotes, qui se noverint filios servorum, et præter conscientiam dominorum suorum ordinatos—non exequantur sacerdotis officium, donec nostrum super hoc ab eis fuerit consilium requisitum."[67] I shall only add further upon this head, the 82nd of the apostolical canons, upon which probably, or at least upon similar reasons, the apparently harsh

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[65] *Lib.* 1. *Tit.* 4. Eos qui. *verb.* non legitimo. Compare J. de Athon. *cap.* Sacer ordo. *verb.* illegitimos. Bulls are extant, conferring power upon bishops to grant dispensations, even to receive the higher orders: as, for example, two to the archbishop of Canterbury, in the year 1313; in the Concilia. *tom.* 2. *p.* 434. 436: the first of which excepts those illegitimates who were born of adultery or incest.

[66] Wilkins. *Conc. Tom.* 1. *p.* 436. 689.

[67] *Ibid. Tom.* 2. *p.* 137. *Tom. I. p.* 658.

regulation was originally founded. "Servos in clerum provehi sine venia dominorum non permittimus ad possessorum molestiam. Domorum enim eversionem illud efficit."[68]

But, that we may not delay to particularize all these disqualifications separately, I shall cite two authorities in which they are joined and named together. One of these, of a very early date: from the dialogue of archbishop Egbert: the xvth interrogation. "Pro quibus criminibus nullus sacerdos potest fieri, vel pro quibus jampridem ordinatus deponitur? *Responsio.* Hujusmodi tunc ordinatio episcopi, presbyteri, vel diaconi, rata esse dicitur: si nullo gravi facinore probatur infectus, si secundam non habuit [uxorem] nec a marito relictam; si pœnitentiam publicam non gessit, nec ulla corporis parte vitiatus apparet; si servilis aut ex origine non est conditionis obnoxius; si curiæ probatur nexibus absolutus; si adsecutus est literas; hunc elegimus ad sacerdotium promoveri. Pro his vero criminibus nullum licet ordinari, sed promotos quosque dicimus deponendos; idola scilicet adorantes; per aruspices incantatores captivos se diabolo tradentes;

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[68] I cannot refrain from quoting Balsamon upon this: "Hic autem canon nolens nostris fratribus aliquid a nobis offendiculi afferri, non permittit ut alienus servus in clerum promoveatur, etiamsi sit prudentissimus et dignus;—ad exemplum autem scriptum est et quod factum est in Onesimo.—Quare nec libertas, nec sacerdotium, nec aliquid aliud dominum ignorantem a servi sui dominio abalienant." And Zonaras to the same purpose: "Fideles decet ea fugere, quæ scandala generent aliquibus. Alienum vero servum contra domini sententiam clericum fieri, causa est scandali, atque molestiæ.—Quod si servus gradu sacro dignus existimetur, episcopum de eo negotio cum domino communicare oportet." Bevereg. *Pandect. Tom.* 1. *p.* 54. The canon itself, I should observe, refers to the case of Onesimus; "noster quoque Onesimus."

fidem suam falso testimonio expugnantes; homicidiis vel fornicationibus contaminatos; furta perpetrantes; sacrum veritatis nomen perjurii temeritate violantes."[69] The other, a canon of the provincial council under Stephen Langton: "Minores clerici ad inferiores gradus non admittantur, nisi idoneos habeant procuratores, et per testimonium eorundem admittantur. Nullus simoniacus, homicida, excommunicatus, aut suspensus, furarius, sacrilegus, incendiarius, aut falsarius, aut aliter hujusmodi canonicum impedimentum ad quoscunque ordines præsumat accedere."[70]

I believe that it may be asserted, that at no time after Christianity became fixed, and spreading, among the Anglo-saxons, was the necessity overlooked of a title,[71] that is, of a nomination to some post of duty, previously to the actual reception of Holy Orders. The council of Calcuith, in the eighth century, decreed, that all priests and deacons "in illo titulo perseverent, ad quem consecrati sunt." And before this, the excerpts of Egbert, (citing a Chalcedonian canon) say; "Ut nullus absolute ordinetur, et sine pronunciatione loci, ad quem ordinandus est." The term *absolute* is

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[69] Thorpe. *Ancient Laws. Vol.* 2. *p.* 93.

[70] Wilkins. *Conc. Tom.* 1. *p.* 595. See Lyndwood, *Lib.* 1. *Tit.* 5; upon the similar constitution of Walter Reynold: and the commentary, already mentioned, of John de Athon, on Otho's constitution, *De scrutinio ordinandorum.* A very long and detailed account of the canonical impediments is given in the "Pupilla oculi," *cap.* De ætate et qualitate ordinandorum.

[71] "Nota, quod titulus, in jure diversimode sumitur. Est enim *titulus* quandoque idem quod detentatio. Et quandoque ponitur pro causa qua dominium transfertur. Quandoque *titulus* dicitur signum, alias ipsum beneficium, alias ipse ordo ecclesiasticus, vel quælibet dignitas, vel prælatio. *etc.*" Lyndwood. *lib.* 1. *tit.* 8. Cum a jure. *verb.* ullo titulo.

explained by its use in the following canon from the council of London, 1126. "Nullus in presbyterum, nullus in diaconum, nisi ad certum titulum ordinetur; qui vero absolute fuerit ordinatus, sumpta careat dignitate." This is not to be so interpreted as to mean, that his orders, so received, were invalid; but that he was not to enjoy the dignities and privileges attached to his degree. Again, the sixth of the council of London, in 1200; "Firmiter observari præcipimus, ut si episcopus aliquem sine titulo certo in diaconum, vel presbyterum ordinaverit, tamdiu ei subministret, donec ei in aliqua ecclesia convenientia stipendia militiæ clericali assignet, nisi forte talis, qui ordinatur, extiterit, qui de sua vel paterna hæreditate subsidia vitæ possit habere. Item in subdiaconi ordinatione statuimus; adjungentes, ut si archidiaconus citra speciale mandatum episcopi sui aliquem prædictorum ordinationi præsentaverit, et is ad ejus præsentationem ordinatus fuerit, prædictæ pœnæ subjaceat." Once more: the synod of Exeter, in 1287: "Caveant ad sacros ordines promovendi, ut titulum habeant sufficientem, sine quo omnibus ad sacros ordines accedere interdicimus facultatem."[72]

The possession of a title, by every candidate for orders, as insisted on so universally, sprung not only (as before said) from the desire that he should have some immediate field or scope for his labours, but also to check the encrease, which was becoming excessive about the seventh and following centuries, of unemployed clergy. Unemployed, because they either would not seek for, or could not obtain, cures or bene-

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[72] Wilkins. *Conc. Tom.* 1. *p.* 147. 104. 408. 506. *Tom.* 2. *p.* 137.

fices. There were so many privileges, and exemptions from civil jurisdiction, which at that time began to be attached to the spiritualty, that men were eager to receive orders, merely that they might enjoy its privileges.

A title, also, conveyed with it the customary stipend, sufficient to provide the usual and proper necessaries of life. Otherwise, the Church would have been overrun not only with idle, but with indigent clergy. This is a point already touched upon in one of the canons just quoted: and so also the Pupilla oculi: "Inquirant etiam examinatores de titulo ordinandi, et si habeat patrimonium proprium unde poterit sustentari competenter:—quia si ordinetur sine titulo tenetur episcopus seu præsentator ei necessaria providere."[73] And John de Athon justly says, that any arrangement with a bishop, or patron, not to press or insist upon this claim, would be of the nature of simony: "Ordo namque sacer sine titulo, i: e: beneficio dare non debet. *etc.*—Nec tamen potest ordinandus repromittere ordinanti, vel præsentanti, de non inquietando eos in forma, absque specie simoniæ ex utraque parte." The title also, must not be a feigned one. "*Et vero.* i: e: non ficto, alias ordinans talem, se obligat. Sed nunquid sufficiat ad excusationem ordinantis quod ordinandus hujusmodi suo titulo oblato asserat se contentum? quia volenti non fit injuria. *etc.* Tu dic contra, cum ibi hoc præcavendum sit indecentiæ clericali.

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[73] *Pars.* vij. *cap.* 3. H. Some go so far as to say that a person so ordained, has a like claim, in case of death, not only upon a bishop's heirs, which all acknowledge, but upon his successor. See Bonacina. *Disp.* viij. *Tom.* 1. *p.* 229. Hostiensis does not think the successor is liable. cit. *ibid.*

Item hujusmodi remissio expressa simoniam induceret, ergo tacite non censetur subintelligi. Et intelligo, quod de hujusmodi titulo certo ordinandus debet facere fidem per aliqua sufficientia documenta, sc. per testes. *etc.*"[74]

Upon the much disputed question of the propriety of conferring orders, whether two or more, at one time, I must content myself with extracting one constitution only, a long one, of archbishop Peckham, at Lambeth, A. D. 1281. "Cum secundum doctores catholicos militia clericalis septem muniatur ordinibus singulorum characteribus in anima consignatis, per singulos etiam augmentum recipiens gratiæ, nisi ordinati ficte ordinem suscipiant crimine irretiti, expedit plurimum ipsos ordines minime recipere inculcatos, quoniam inculcatio reverentiam minuit, et gratiam per consequens, quæ per irreverentiam repercutitur ab ingratis. Contra dignitatem igitur tam reverentissimi esse dignoscitur sacramenti, quinque simul ordines, scilicet ordines non sacros cum uno sacro, alicui uni homini exhibere; unde in nonnullis aliis provinciis quatuor minores ordines non simul faciliter conferuntur, ut ascendentes clerici ad Christi ministeria quasi graduum canticum continentia, cum probati extiterint in minoribus officiis, gradatim demum procedant ad majora. Quia igitur ex singulis ecclesiis, quæ pia, quæ religiosa, quæque honesta sunt, tenemur eligere, et ea tanquam fasciculum in Anglorum mentibus colligare; præcipimus, ut episcopi in his sequantur canonicas sanctiones; minores etiam ordines, quando id potest fieri, bono modo, pro sacramenti reverentia seu

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[74] In constit. Othonis. *De scrutinio ordinand. Verb.* titulo et vero.

necessitate dentur saltem aliquoties combinati, et recipientes eos, seu simul, seu sigillatim, in vulgari lingua publice instruantur de distinctione ordinum, officiorum et characterum, ac de profectu gratiæ, quæ in singulis ordinibus continetur, et digne accedentibus augmentatur." [75]

I have placed in the note below, some important observations of Lyndwood, bearing upon the same point. And to the like purpose is the following from the Pupilla. "Potest quis omnes minores ordines recipere eodem die nisi consuetudo esset repugnans, cujus contrarium forte scandalum generaret. Sed unus ordo sacer cum minoribus vel duo sacri nullo

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[75] Wilkins. *Conc. Tom.* 2. *p.* 53. Lyndwood says, upon the words *Canonicas sanctiones:* "Hic aut quæris de solis minoribus ordinibus conferendis, aut de conferendis solis majoribus, aut de conferendis tam minoribus quam majoribus. Et scias, quod diversis et separatis personis singulariter possunt singuli ordines eodem die conferri. Sed quæstio nostra procedit, an plures ordines possunt simul eodem dic conferri uni personæ? et quantum ad majores ordines dic breviter, quod non licet omnes, nec etiam duos simul eodem die conferre. An autem omnes minores ordines possunt simul uni personæ conferri, dicunt doctores, quod quatuor possunt simul conferri, si talis sit consuetudo patriæ.—Sed an prima tonsura possit cum aliis quatuor simul eodem die conferri, sunt opiniones.—Mihi videtur, quod opinio Hostiensis intelligi potest vera, ut scilicet in generali celebratione ordinum prima tonsura non detur cum aliis quatuor in aperto: potest tamen eodem die ante inchoationem missæ celebrationis ordinum private conferri. Sed nunquid cum uno de minoribus ordinibus possit eidem personæ eodem die conferri ordo subdiaconatus? Hostiensis dicit plane quod non: et videtur hoc satis decisum in *capit. Cum H.* ubi delictum talis patet ex tribus. Primo, quia recipienti ordinem subdiaconatus cum minore ordine eodem die imputatur temeritas. Secundo, quia ejus excessus magnus et multus esse judicatur. Tertio, quia ab executione ordinis suscepti suspenditur, ut ibi patet." *Lib.* 5. *Tit.* 11.

modo uni eodem die conferantur. Et qui contra hanc formam furtive ordines receperit debet deponi." [76]

From these, and other testimonies, if it was necessary to appeal to them, not omitting that of the office below, *p.* 157, it is quite clear, that long before the reformation, the minor orders, whatever the theory may have been, had, in fact and practice, fallen into disuse, in the church of England, as now they also have in the church of Rome. The names were retained, and the clergy required to pass through them,[77] before the reception of the diaconate or priesthood: but as the names and titles were all which had survived the long lapse of time, it was a wise course to remove so unserviceable a remnant from the revised ordinal of our church. These minor orders, and I now include the subdiaconate, were not of divine institution; [78] claiming, (and truly, it is not to be de-

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[76] *Pars.* vij. *cap.* 3. B.

[77] See the *Pupilla: Pars.* vij. *cap.* 1. F. "An superior ordo possit recipi inferiore non recepto? Isti perfecti ordines secundum institutionem ecclesiæ recipi debeant secundum quendam ordinem incipiendo." And it is decided that if this rule had not been followed, the person so transgressing would require a dispensation. It would appear also, that if a priest had not received the diaconate (for example), he was to receive ordination to it, but without iteration of the priesthood.

[78] Cardinal Bona confesses this: "Tertia classis ministrantium clericos minorum ordinum complectitur; acolythos, *etc:* quos antiquissimos esse, et ab apostolis, vel ab immediatis eorum successoribus institutos doctores scholastici asserunt, sed non probant." *Rerum liturg. lib.* 1. *cap.* 25. 17. Peter Lombard also, speaking of the higher orders, acknowledges: "Hos solos primitiva ecclesia legitur habuisse, et de his solis præceptum apostoli habemus. Subdiaconos vero et acolythos, procedente tempore, ecclesia sibi constituit." *Sent. lib.* iv. *Dist.* 24. And once more, before his time, Amalarius: "Notandum est, eos ordines, qui potissimum necessarii sunt in ecclesia, apostolum Paulum denominasse et eorum mores

nied) a very high antiquity, they nevertheless fell short of the apostolical age. Scripture is silent about them: nor do I remember that either S. Clement, or S. Ignatius, in his genuine epistles, or S. Polycarp, or S. Justin, or S. Irenæus alludes to, or mentions them in any way, and far less therefore do they insist on them. When they were at last adopted, various countries differed as to the number, and the offices, and the dignity of the several minor orders. Nor can there be refused to any branch of the Catholic Church, the same right and power to lay aside these orders, as to receive and institute them. If again, the necessities of any time should call for it, there can be no just reason why one or more of them should not be resumed, with newly defined duties, not merely nominal, but to be actually performed. This would be a real and not an idle following of the practice of antiquity, by an acknowledgment of the peculiar wants and requirements of the age, and an energetic endeavour to meet and supply them. It is not reasonable to suppose that always the same divinely instituted

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depinxisse, sine quibus non potest rite immolatio altaris celebrari, scilicet, sine sacerdote et diacono. Ut sine retractatione sacerdos vigilet circa hostias, necessarius est diaconus ad ministrandum ea, quæ necessaria sunt sacerdoti: cæteri ordines his adjecti sunt. Crescente ecclesia, crevit officium ecclesiasticum: ut multitudini ecclesiæ subveniri posset, adjiciuntur inferiores in adjutorio præpositorum." *De off. eccl. Lib.* 2. *cap.* 6. *Bibl. Patr. Auct tom.* 1. *p.* 380. Compare the statements laid down in the "Necessary Doctrine;" art. *Of Orders*, "To these" of priests and deacons "the primitiue churche dyd adde and conjoyne certaine other inferiour and lower degrees, *etc.*" *fol.* xxxvj. So also, in its corresponding place, "The Institution." Bishop Bonner, in his "Necessary Doctrine," does not in his exposition upon "the sacrament of orders," notice the minor orders.

hierarchy of bishops, priests, and deacons, would be alone sufficient for the work of the ministry: once it was found not to be so, and further aid, upon the authority and under the wisdom of the church, was given: leaving an example to succeeding generations. But when the cause for such additional assistance had passed away; or when, by gradual decay, the original purpose and end of such appointments had either been converted into the encrease of an already too great excess of ceremony, and vain superstition, or into the idle retaining of the names only without the offices; it would have been equally unreasonable to have continued, as it were, in mockery, so mere a shadow of what had once been good.

Before we leave the minor orders altogether, I would take from Ælfric's pastoral epistle, an account of their duties, as they were regarded in the Anglo-saxon age. "Ostiarius is the doorkeeper, who holds the keys of the church. Lector is the reader, who reads in church. Exorcista is an adjutor, who reads over men diseased in mind, and the infirm. Acoluthus is he, who bears the light at God's ministries. Subdiaconus is the under deacon, who bears the chalice and the dish at the mass, and ministers to the deacon."[79]

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[79] Thorpe. *Ancient Laws. vol.* 2. *p.* 379.

Archbishop Lanfranc explains the distinction of the aquamanile, which was given, at their ordination, to the subdeacons. "Vas inferius, in quod manibus infusa aqua delabitur. Urceolus vero, vas superius, unde lavandis manibus aqua infunditur." *Epist.* 13. And Joan. de Janua. "Aquimanile, dicitur res, super quod cadit aqua, qua abluuntur digiti sacerdotum post sumptionem corporis Christi." *cit.* Ducange, *Glossarium.*

CHAPTER VI.

WE proceed now to deacons, concerning whom, the excerpts of archbishop Egbert, quoting a Carthaginian canon, decree: "Placuit ut ante xxv. annos ætatis, nec diaconus ordinetur, nec virgines consecrentur, nisi rationabili necessitate cogente."[1] But as time went on, an earlier limit was allowed: as is clear from the Pupilla, in a place which specifies also the ages at which the inferior orders might be received: and I therefore quote it. "Ordinandus in exorcistam, lectorem, seu ostiarium debet esse major infante. i. major septennio. Et similiter ille qui primam tonsuram suscipit ordinandus in acolytum debet esse major xiiij. annis. Item major xvij. annis potest ordinari in subdiaconum. Major etiam xix. annis potest ordinari in diaconum: et major xxiv. annis in sacerdotem: et major xxx. annis potest esse episcopus."[2]

As to their disabilities, the chief assumption by deacons seems to have been, the hearing of confessions: this is complained of and prohibited by the Norwich canons of 1257. "Audivimus quoque, quod quidam sacerdotes faciant suos diaconos audire confessiones parochianorum suorum; quod quam sit absurdum non opus est dicere, cum evidenter verum sit, quod diaconis non est tradita potestas, nec quærat ex hoc nisi occasionem aut spatium intendendi negotiis secularibus. Propterea firmiter inhibemus, ne diaconi confessiones

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[1] Thorpe. *Ancient Laws. vol.* 2. *p.* 110. xciij.

[2] *Lib.* vij. *Cap.* 4. A.

audiant, aut pœnitentias injungant, aut alia sacramenta ministrent, quæ concessa sunt solis sacerdotibus ministrare."[3] The reader will observe, that in the above, the reason of a deacon's presuming to hear confessions, is attributed rather to the idleness or secular disposition of the superior priest: which nevertheless would not excuse the intruding deacon: in the following order, however, of the synod of Exeter, A. D. 1287, we find the practice altogether forbidden, without the assignment of any special cause for the offence: "Et cum in ecclesia Dei, secundum inferiores et superiores ordines, officia sint distincta, nec inferior usurpet officium superioris, ut promiscuis actibus contingant ecclesiastica officia perturbari; firmiter inhibemus, ne diaconi confessiones audiant, pœnitentiasve injungant, vel sacra ministrent, aut aliqua officia exerceant, quæ solis sacerdotibus sunt concessa."[4] And we learn from the annals of the monastery of Burton, that this circumstance formed one of the diocesan articles of enquiry, put forth by bishop Grosteste in 1252: "An diaconi audiant confessiones, vel alia ministrent sacramenta tantum sacerdotibus concessa?"[5]

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[3] Wilkins. *Conc. tom.* 1. *p.* 733.

[4] *Ibid. tom.* 2. *p.* 145.

[5] Rerum Anglic. Script. *tom.* 1. *p.* 317. I shall have to quote presently, a gloss of Lyndwood, upon the authority, which various degrees of the clergy have, to preach: in which mention will be made of deacons, as "curates:" whence some might perhaps argue, that being "curates" they might hear confessions. But the sense in which deacons could thus be said to be curates in that age, is very different from that in which they are now so often, and unhappily from the force of circumstances so often, styled curates. I do not remember, nor conceive that it would be easy, to produce an instance of a deacon having the sole charge of a parish, in the time of Lyndwood, except for that short time, after presentation to a benefice, before

But, after all, these various canons must have been directed to the unwarranted hearing of confessions: because, in certain cases of great necessity, and in those only, power to do so was given to deacons, by a provincial constitution of archbishop Edmund. "De pœnitentia præcipimus: quod diaconi pœnitentias dare non præsumant, nisi in his casibus: cum sacerdos non potest, vel absens est: vel stulte, vel indiscrete non vult: et mors imminet ægroto." It would seem to be allowed only that the confession should be heard; no power of giving absolution was granted, or the semblance of it; and in fact, these extreme cases did not place a deacon in a higher position, than, under the same circumstances, a mere layman. For thus Lyndwood says, upon the word "ægroto" in the above: "Qui desiderat confiteri. Tali namque casu potest non solum diaconus, sed etiam laicus confessionem ægroti audire; immo et mulier hoc potest. Et hoc verum, ad ostendendum fidem sacramenti. Sacramentum tamen deficit, quia nullus potest vere absolvere nisi sacerdos."[6]

I shall add one more particular only, directed towards the proper administration of the blessed Eucharist to the sick: in which the blame must be attributed, it would appear, altogether to the negligence or carelessness of the parish-priest. "Caveant presbyteri, ne ad visitandum infirmos se exhibeant difficiles; ——

reception of priest's orders. The term curacy is to be understood, as regards deacons, in the sense of "title" or place of ministration to which they were ordained or appointed, and within the limits of which they might exercise the privileges and functions of their order.

[6] *Lib.* 3. *Tit.* 24. Baptisterium. Cf. *Lib.* 5. *Tit.* 16. De pœnitentia.

nec, sicut a quibusdam hactenus est præsumptum, mittant cum eucharistia diaconos ad infirmos." This is one of the canons of a diocesan synod of Chichester, A. D. 1289.[7]

We must now proceed to some matters connected with the duties and qualifications of the next and higher order, the priests. As to the age, earlier than which they were not to be ordained, I have already spoken, p. cvii. In the middle of the eighth century, the council of Cloveshoo, gives the following admonition: "Octavo monuerunt capitulo: ut presbyteri indesinenter reminiscant, ad quod divina ordinatione præ cæteris promoti sint; quod Dei videlicet ministri et dispensatores mysteriorum Christi vocantur; et tunc 'quæritur inter dispensatores, ut fidelis quis inveniatur;' unde sciant se necessario pro Dei intuitu debere a secularibus negotiis causisque, in quantum prævaleant, vacare; altaris officium divinique cultus obsequium summa intentione persolvere; oratorii domum, et cuncta ad cultum ipsius pertinentia, sub sua cura conservare; lectioni, orationi, missarum celebrationi, psalmisque canendis invigilare."[8] The canon then proceeds to some particular duties in the case of priests attached to monasteries: and is followed by several other canons of no little interest, to which I must be content to refer the student. Extracting one particular only: namely that priests were to learn and be able to expound, in the vulgar tongue, the solemn part of the Liturgy: not only the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer, "sed et sacrosancta quoque verba, quæ in missæ celebratione, et officio baptismi solenniter

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[7] Wilkins. *Conc. tom.* 2. *p.* 170.
[8] *Ibid. tom.* 1. *p.* 96.

dicuntur." This rule is of much importance, in its bearing upon the Anglo-saxon doctrine of the celebration of the holy Eucharist.

Before we pass on to other details, I would here make an observation on the rite, practised in the English church from the most remote antiquity, of anointing the hands of persons, to be ordained priests. The reader will see in the notes below, frequent remarks upon certain parts of the ordinal, which appear to have been originally introduced into the Anglo-saxon pontificals, from the more ancient Forms of the British church. There is no manuscript extant, of any foreign church, with the exception of the sacramentary of S. Gregory, older than the pontificals of archbishops Egbert and Dunstan, in which this rite is prescribed: in both of those it is ordered, together with unction of the head, which last is not noticed in the sacramentary just named. In some pontificals of the Gallican church, of the 10th century, examined by Martene, it also occurs, and probably was adopted from the already established Anglo-saxon practice. And it is farther a very remarkable circumstance, that between the time of S. Gregory and the tenth century, the unction even of the hands was discontinued according to the use of the church of Rome. For in the ninth century, pope Nicolas I. says in an epistle; "Præterea sciscitaris utrum solis presbyteris, an et diaconibus debeant cum ordinantur manus chrismatis liquore perungi. Quod in sancta hac Romana, cui Deo autore deservimus, ecclesia, neutris agitur."[9]

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[9] Epist. 39. *Concil. Gall. tom.* 3. The student should consult upon this point, one of some importance, the arguments of Morinus, *de sacris ordin. Exerc.* vi. *Cap.* 2. of Menard, in his notes

There are many canons of English councils, directed to the prevention of an abuse, not unlikely to spread; namely the holding of rectories by persons not in priest's orders. Hence it was enjoined, that all rectors, and vicars, having cure of souls, should be ordained priests, within a certain time after presentation to the benefice, or the presentation would be void. But it seems, that some, although they so far obeyed these canons, as to escape deprivation, yet neglected their duties, and refused to celebrate the holy Communion. I shall quote a statute of the diocese of Exeter, in the year 1287, which fully states this practice, and corrects it. "Quoniam audivimus, quod quanquam rectores ecclesiarum metu pœnæ statuti infra annum, a tempore suscepti regiminis, se fecerint in presbyteros ordinari; missarum tamen solennia differunt celebrare per tempora diuturna; per hoc excusare volentes, quod in prædicto statuto nihil cautum de missarum solenniis reperitur: hanc excusationem, qua se accusant, quam potius excusant, frivolam reputantes, statuimus, ut saltem infra dimidium annum post ordinum susceptionem (nisi canonicum habuerint impedimentum) missas celebrare non omittant. Alioquin beneficiorum suorum fructus decrevimus, sibi subtrahendos, donec quod dictum est devote comple-

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to the sacramentary of S. Gregory, *tom.* 3. *p.* 503. and of Catalani, *in Pontif. tom.* 1. *p.* 122. The sacramentary of S. Gelasius omits the unction of the hands: and there is a place in the homilies of S. Leo, which, curiously enough, is appealed to by both parties: by the one, to prove that in his time unction was not observed; by the other, to prove the contrary. The passage is "Nunc enim et ordo clarior levitarum, et dignitas amplior seniorum, et sacratior est unctio sacerdotum, quia crux tua omnium fons benedictionum." *Serm.* 8. *de passione Domini.*

verint; nec postquam semel celebraverint, incipiant tunc cessare; sed sub pœna prædicta frequenter studeant celebrare."[10]

But except in the cases of persons thus presented to benefices, a very wise rule, if it was fully carried out, (which I should doubt could have been at any time) prohibited priests from undertaking the sole cure of a parish, for one year after their ordination. I again quote the same synod of Exeter. "Cum sit ars artium regimen animarum, illud juvenibus et inexpertis committere valde reputamus absurdum, donec per merita virtutum et experientiam diutinam digni efficiantur ad tanti oneris sarcinam supportandam. Quapropter statuimus, ne quisquam presbyterorum primo ordinationis suæ anno ad curam parochialem ullatenus admittatur; illis tamen duntaxat exceptis, qui tenentur propriis ecclesiis deservire." And, once more upon this point, in the year 1308, a synodical constitution of Henry Woodloke, bishop of Winchester: "Inhibemus etiam, ne quis sacerdos, exceptis rectoribus aut vicariis ecclesiarum, qui propriis tenentur ecclesiis deservire, primo ordinationis suæ anno, curam parochialem admittat."[11]

Very early in the ecclesiastical history of the church of England, we find steps taken to prevent priests, wandering about from place to place, and celebrating wheresoever they would. The Dialogue of archbishop Egbert has the following passage. "*Interrogatio.* Si permittendum est presbyteris sive peregrinis, sive nostri generis, passim ministrare absque conscientia episcopi loci, in cujus diœcesi interim demorantur, maxime sub laicis, nusquam sta-

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[10] *Ibid. tom.* 2. *p.* 145.

[11] *Ibid. tom.* 2. *p.* 149. 297.

biles, nec loco nec auctoritate pontificali primitus fundati? *Responsio.* Presbyteros peregrinos, vel absolute ordinatos sine literis commendatitiis circumeuntes provincias, nusquam eos ministrare patimur, vel sacramenta tradere absque conscientia episcopi loci." Passing over six hundred years, the same precautions are laid down by a synod of the diocese of Sodor, in the fourteenth century. "Firmiter præcipiendo inhibemus sub interminatione anathematis, ut nullus sacerdos ex aliena diœcesi ad nostram veniens, inibi residentiam præsumat facere, nisi prius nobis honeste et rite pervenerit, ostendens nobis instrumenta publica vel testes idoneos de veritate suæ ordinationis et conversationis."[12]

Generally, with respect to all persons in orders, the same care was taken: Lyndwood has a title "de clericis peregrinis:" and I quote the constitution of archbishop Walter Reynold, in 1322, which he cites,

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[12] Ibid. *tom.* 1. *p.* 83. *Tom.* 3. *p.* 11. These are to be traced doubtless to the 21st. canon of the council of Arles, in the year 314: at which several of the British bishops, as it is well known, were present.

I would place here in a note two passages from the Anglo-saxon records. First, from the canons under K. Edgar. "We enjoin, that it never happen that a priest celebrate mass, and not taste the housel himself." Thorpe, *Ancient Laws. Vol.* 2. *p.* 253. I understand this to mean, after consecration: as "hurl" is not a term applied to the unhallowed bread, and the preceding canon is directed to a proper care in providing all things necessary for the sacrament. Secondly, from the penitential of Egbert: "Quisque presbyter debet esse, sicut vocatus est, sacerdos." *ibid. p.* 203. Upon which a remark of Lyndwood is apposite: where speaking of a certain canon, he says: "Et nota, quod illum quem infra vocat presbyterum, hic vocat sacerdotem. Et dicitur sacerdos quasi sacra dans. Et sic hæ dictiones, presbyter et sacerdos, synonima sunt." *Lib.* 1. *tit.* 6. Sacerdotis. *verb.* sacerdotem loci.

and portions of his gloss. "Ordinati in Hibernia, Wallia,[13] seu Scotia, vel alibi, sine literis ordinariorum suorum commendatitiis vel dimissoriis non admittantur a quocunque infra provinciam nostram ad ordinis sic suscepti executionem, nisi magna necessitas inducat: et tunc quod cum eis auctoritate sufficienti fuerit dispensatum super executione ordinis memorati, vel alias a suis ordinariis ordo sic susceptus ratificetur. Proviso nihilominus quod nullo modo admittantur, nisi prius constiterit de eorum legitima ordinatione, vitæ munditia, pariter et literatura." "*Ordinariorum suorum.* sc. episcoporum quorum sunt subditi. *Commendatitiis.* Sic dictis quia continent testimonium sive commendationem de vita, honestate, et moribus ordinandorum. Et tales literæ si essent perditæ, possunt probari per testes. Et has non possunt concedere inferiores episcopis, nisi hoc habeant de consuetudine sive privilegio. *Vel dimissoriis.* Hæ dicuntur, per quas aliquis dimittitur a jurisdictione sive potestate sui prælati, et dicuntur quandoque licentiales, quando viz. licentia datur ad aliquid faciendum, utputa ordines ab alieno episcopo suscipiendos. Et has possunt episcopi suis subditis concedere, sc. ut ipsarum vigore ipsas obtinentes valeant ab aliis episcopis ordinari. *Vitæ munditia.* Quæ consistit in pluribus. Primo, viz. quod eorum vita et conversatio sit casta: secundo, quod sit in cibo et potu temperata: tertio, quod non sit tabulis et commessationibus dedita: quarto, quod

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[13] Johnson observes "Sure the archbishop had forgot that Wales was part of his province." But the object of the constitution is general; to prevent any clerk officiating in a diocese, by the bishop of which he was not originally ordained, without license, and examination.

sit orationibus assueta: quinto, quod se non immisceant cœtibus, ubi cantantur amatoria, vel exercentur inhonesta: sexto, quod ab ebrietate omnino se abstineant."[14]

I shall not delay to extract any of the canons which relate to the duty of preaching, from the time when the council of Cloveshoo, A. D. 747, in its ninth canon ordered every priest carefully and diligently to fulfil it. Upon a point which the Church has always so much insisted on, it does not seem necessary to heap up authorities: I would rather quote the opinion of the great canonist, as to some restrictions with regard to it. "Nota, quod non omnis qui vult prædicare, debet ad hoc admitti. Nam mere laicus nec publice nec private potest prædicare, nec etiam mulier. 23. *dist. mulier.* quod intelligas ascendendo pulpitum, et faciendo sermonem ad populum: loquendo de clericis habes scire, quod papa ubique potest prædicare; episcopi vero ubique possunt prædicare, nisi per diœcesanos prohibeantur expresse, juxta illud *Mat. Euntes in mundum universum prædicate,* quod dictum fuit apostolis, in quorum loco succedunt episcopi. Auctoritatem tamen prædicandi aliis dare non possunt, nisi in propriis diœcesibus. Inferiores vero prælati, sive curati, subditis sibi commissis prædicare possunt, etiamsi fuerint diaconi tantum: aliis etiam officium prædicandi committere possunt in cura eis commissa, dum tamen tales sint, qui ad hoc approbati et vocati fuerint, ut sunt doctores in theologia, vel alias per episcopum approbati. Hi vero qui nec prælati nec

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[14] *Lib.* 1. *tit.* 9. Cum quanta. Compare the next ch. of the same title.

curati sunt, non possunt prædicare nisi mittantur ab his, qui hoc facere possunt."[15]

It may appear scarcely necessary to state that severe penalties were attached to the performance of priestly functions by men who had not received the order of the priesthood: but I would quote two examples, in neither of which, however, the punishment is specified. One was brought before the convocation, sitting in S. Paul's, in 1463. "Die sabbati, toto concilio, ut prius, insimul congregato, adductus fuit coram domino et confratribus suis quidam Simon Harrison, apparatu fratris prædicatoris indutus, in ecclesia parochiali de Lamehith, Winton. diœc. per familiares domini suspecte in dicenda missa captus, qui solum, ut publice asseruit et fatebatur tunc ibidem, in ordine acolytus constitutus missas per longum tempus celebravit, idolatriam committendo. Et hoc audito, dominus commisit eum confratri suo Willielmo Winton. episcopo puniendum."[16]

The other example to which I alluded is a very curious one, related in the chronicle of Henry de Knyghton. "Illis diebus (1391) erat quædam matrona in civitate Londoniensi quæ habebat unicam filiam quam instruxit ad celebrandum missam, et erexit altare in cubili suo secreto cum ornatu suo, sicque fecit filiam suam multis diebus vestire se more sacerdotis et ad altare accedere, et pro suo modo missam celebrare: sed cum venisset ad verba sacramenti, prostravit se ante altare et sacramentum non confecit, sed cætera missæ surgens usque ad finem

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[15] Lyndwood. *lib.* 3. *tit.* 4. *verb.* auctorizatus est. Præterea. *verb.* prædicant. Cf. *lib.* 5. *tit.* 5. Reverendissimæ.

[16] Wilkins. *Conc. tom.* 3. *p.* 585.

complevit, matre ejus eam juvante et suam devotionem agente. Iste error multo tempore duravit, donec per quandam vicinam ad talem missam secretius vocatam divulgaretur, et ad aures episcopi Londoniensis devenisset, qui eas ad præsentiam suam convocavit, et de errore convenit, et sacerdotissimam tonsuram comæ publice monstrare coegit, cujus caput nimis glabrosum inventum est; episcopus plorans nimis et ejulans de tali errore in ecclesia suo tempore contingente, multa lamenta emisit, et finem cum illis injuncta pœnitentia fecit."[17]

Upon the case of those who had, from any cause, contracted irregularity in the receiving of their Orders, I shall extract the following constitution of archbishop Edmund, in the year 1236. "Omnes qui irregularitatem, in ordine suscepto, vel ante, vel post ordines susceptos, constat contraxisse, nisi cum eis dispensatum fuerit expresse per eos qui cum eis dispensare poterint, ab officii executione denunciamus esse suspensos; donec cum eis super hoc legitime fuerit dispensatum." Upon this Lyndwood says: "*Irregularitatem.* Quæ nomen accepit a regula, quam statuit Apostolus servandum in ordinatione clericorum, cujus contrarium dicitur irregularitas. Et nota quod irregularitas est quoddam impedimentum proveniens ex constitutione canonica, et non extenditur, nisi quatenus invenitur jure inflicta. *In ordine suscepto.* In tempore suscipiendi ordines; pone exemplum in scienter ordinato ab hæretico vel schismatico. *Officii executione.* Intelligas de solenni executione; tali videlicet quæ pertinet ad ordinem quem obtinet et

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[17] Script. x. *tom.* 2. *p.* 2738.

sub ratione ipsius ordinis. Unde talis irregularis de quo hic loquitur, se immiscere non potest officio ecclesiastico, ut videlicet publice et solemniter ministret in ordine suo tempore quo dicuntur vesperæ, matutinæ, missæ, vel aliæ horæ canonicæ. Privatim tamen, et per modum suffragii potest dicere horas suas ad quas tenetur ratione ordinis assumpti: et hoc puto verum si extra ecclesiam hoc faciat: secus si in ecclesia quæ ad talia deputatur. Potest talis tamen audire Divina in ecclesia: hoc verum si hoc non faciat ex contemptu, sed ex devotione. Et hoc quod hic dicitur, viz. quod irregularis debet abstinere ab executione officii donec fuerit cum eo dispensatum, non solum habet locum in ordinato ad majores ordines, sed etiam ad minores."[18]

The constitution proceeds to specify several ways in which irregularity and consequent suspension were incurred: for example, homicide, advocacy in causes of blood, simoniacs, schismatics, &c. The whole title, with Lyndwood's gloss, is well worth the consideration of the student, bearing as it does upon the penalties attached to mere suspension, which is not also accompanied with the further penalty of excommunication. The Pupilla has a chapter "de suspensione ab executione ordinis," in which the whole subject is very fully and accurately discussed.[19] The different severities of the degrees of suspension are explained; as being either perpetual, or temporary: from a benefice, or from execution of spiritual functions, or from entrance into any church: and I regret that my space will not allow me to do more than thus barely refer to that part of the book.

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[18] *Lib.* 1. *tit.* 4. Imprimis.

[19] *Pars* vij. *Cap.* 6.

I should have been glad also to have given, although not so immediately connected with my subject, yet illustrative of it, some account of the various restrictions and rules laid down in the English councils, relating to the daily habits and pursuits and occupations of the clergy: what they might both properly and lawfully engage in, and what they might not: also, some of the many canons which were passed regulating the dress which they should wear. These, however, I must pass by: but in the note below are references to some places in Wilkins, where the matter is entered into:[20] and if the reader examines them, he will certainly acknowledge, that on the present occasion, I could not have done justice to a subject so extensive, and of importance sufficient to justify a detailed consideration in a separate treatise.

I shall, therefore, now proceed to some particulars, relating to bishops. As to their consecration, it was always insisted on, in the church of England, that there should not be less than three bishops present, and assisting. And this from the time, when archbishop Egbert, in his excerpts,[21] quoted the Nicene canon; or up to that earlier age, when British bishops, present at the council of Arles, agreed to this rule. "*Ut sine tribus episcopis nullus episcopus ordi-*

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[20] Concilia. *tom.* 1. *p.* 574. 609. 652. 670. 706. 716. 732. *Tom.* 2. *p.* 4. 59. 141. 146. 296. *Tom.* 3. *p.* 29. 61. 70. 586. 619. *Tom.* 4. *p.* 164. See Lyndwood also, *lib.* 3. *tit.* 1. Ut clericalis. John de Athon. *Cap.* Quoniam de habitu. The Pupilla oculi. *Lib.* vij. *cap.* 10. It would be an endless task to attempt to refer to the foreign canonists, Van Espen, Bonacina, Thomassin, Saussajus, &c: all of whom treat very largely of the subject.

[21] Wilkins. *Conc. Tom.* 1. *p.* 107.

netur. De his qui usurpant sibi, quod soli debeant episcopos ordinare, placuit ut nullus hoc sibi præsumat, nisi assumptis secum aliis septem episcopis: si tamen non potuerit septem, infra tres non audeat ordinare."[22]

I extract the following form of citation of a bishop to consecrate and to assist, in the year 1293. "Venerabili in Christo patri, domino. R.[23] Dei gratia London. episcopo, devoti sui H. permissione divina prior ecclesiæ Christi Cant. et ejusdem loci capitulum, salutem, et ad sinceræ devotionis obsequia se paratos. Quanto majorem devotionem erga nos et ecclesiam nostram Cantuar. geritis, quam frequenti experimento didicimus, tanto vobis honorem facere satagimus præ cæteris ampliorem. Quia igitur discretus vir magister W. de Marchia Bathon. electus, die dominica in festo Pentecostes prox. ventur. in ecclesia nostra Cantuar. prout scitis, Deo propitio, est in episcopum consecrandus, paternitati vestræ supplicamus, quatenus dictis die et loco, omni excusatione remota, tantæ solennitate personaliter interesse velitis, munus consecrationis electo propriis manibus impensur. Quid autem super his facere decreverit sanctitas vestra, per bajulum præsentium nobis literatorie significetis. Dat. *etc.*"[24]

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[22] Mansi. *Conc. Tom.* 2. *p.* 474.

The clause in the Act 25 Hen. VIII. cap. 20, which required four bishops, was in case the certificate of the election had not been sent to an archbishop; otherwise, two bishops, with the archbishop, were to consecrate. See Gibson, *Codex Juris Ecc.* *p.* 111.

[23] Richard de Gravesend. consecr. 1280. Ob. 1303. *Le Neve.*

[24] Wilkins. *Conc. Tom.* 2. *p.* 195. Other documents of much interest are printed in that place, relating to the same consecration. The see of Canterbury was at that time vacant: but it was not upon that account only that the letter of summons runs in the name of the prior and con-

As to the times, that is, the periods of the year, at which general ordinations were to take place, both Baronius[25] and Bellarmine[26] have attempted to prove that the "Jejunia quatuor temporum" as fixed for that purpose, are to be attributed to the days and the authority of the apostles. But there is no evidence whatever, of any weight, in favour of this opinion, whilst on the other hand, there is much in contradiction to it. Not only is there no mention of this fact in the earlier fathers, but there is very ancient authority that Gelasius was the first who limited the seasons of general ordination to certain times of the year. Micrologus says; "Gelasius papa constituit, ut ordinationes presbyterorum, et diaconorum nonnisi certis temporibus fiant."[27] So also Rabanus Maurus; "Sacras ordinationes quatuor temporum diebus opor-

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vent. Because it appears from a commission granted by them, a few years afterwards, in the case of the bishop elect of Bangor, to be consecrated elsewhere, that they claimed the privilege of having all bishops of the province consecrated in their cathedral. See, *ibid*, *p*. 287.

"The dean and chapter of Canterbury," says bishop Gibson, "claim it as an ancient right of that church, that every bishop of the province is to be consecrated in it, or the archbishop to receive from them a license to consecrate elsewhere. And tho' between the years 1235 and 1300 that point was controverted with the chapter, it ended in their favours, and in the further confirmation of the privilege.—" "—In Cranmer's register, among the fees due to the archbishop and his officers, for confirmation and consecration, we find the following entry. 'Memorand. that no bishop may be consecrated without the church of Canterbury, but by the special license of the dean and chapter under their chapter seal, the fee whereof is 26s. 8d.'" *Codex Juris Ecc*. *p*. 111. *note* rr.

25 An. lvij. *n*. ccix.

26 Opera. *tom*. 1. *p*. 82. De verbo Dei. *lib*. 4. *cap*. 3.

27 *Cap*. 24. *p*. 448. *edit*. Hittorpius.

tere fieri, decreta Gelasii papæ testantur."[28] There is no doubt, however, that the appropriation of certain times of the year, to the solemnities of general ordinations, is of an antiquity reaching, if not to apostolical, at least to almost primitive times. And there are so many reasons, which will easily occur to the reader, why a rule so general and ancient should be if possible observed, that it cannot but be a subject of sincere gratification to every member of the church of England to observe, not only that it is distinctly repeated by the canons of 1604, but that, during the last few years, the practice of our bishops has been (more exactly, than at one period) in accordance with that rule.

But, to return to my more immediate purpose, I proceed to extract some orders upon the point, previous to the sixteenth century. First, the 99th of the often-quoted excerpts of archbishop Egbert: "Presbytero-

[28] De Instit. Cleric. *lib.* 2. *cap.* 24. *p.* 338. *ibid.* See also the notes of Quesnel, upon the 10th epistle of S. Leo: where he attributes to that pontiff the first restriction laid upon the ancient customs. Amalarius says, that all the popes, from Clement to Simplicius, ordained only in the month of December. De Off. *lib.* 2. *cap.* 1. "Simplicius primus sacravit in Februario, ni fallor, nullam ob aliam causam, nisi intimando conjungendos propinquius Christi corpori, qui per sacrum ministerium provehuntur." *Edit. Hittorpius. p.* 157. But there is ample evidence from records still extant that Amalarius was mistaken: and that the custom in the primitive ages, at Rome as in all other parts of the Catholic Church, was to ordain at any time of the year, when it was judged desirable or necessary. Mabillon in his Museum Italicum, *tom.* 2. *p.* 103, supposes that the frequent custom, certainly observed by some popes, to ordain only in the winter, was on account of the great heat of the summer, and the numerous duties to be fulfilled in the autumn: but Catalani derides this idea. *Comment. in Pontif. tom.* 1. *p.* 47.

rum vero et diaconorum in quatuor temporum sabbatis, scilicet, ut dum hæc ordinatio coram populo agitur, sub omnium testificatione electorum ordinatorumque opinio discutiatur."[29] Again, of a council at Winchester, soon after the Conquest, in which canon the "certain times" must be interpreted of the Ember days. "4. Quod ordinationes certis temporibus fiant."[30] And lastly, the Pupilla oculi. "Celebrari possunt sacri ordines generaliter in sabbatis quatuor temporum, et in sabbato ante dominicam in passione et in sabbato sancto paschæ: in aliis autem temporibus nemini licet sacros ordines conferre nisi soli papæ: et si aliis temporibus conferantur ordinati recipiunt ordinem; sed non executionem ordinis. Minores autem ordines licite conferuntur ab episcopis in diebus dominicis et in aliis diebus solennibus, aut festis aliquibus, sed non valde multis, ut non videatur generalem ordinationem facere."[31]

Having, in a previous dissertation, (*Vol.* 1. *p.* cci.) remarked upon the strict rules which were anciently enforced, that all the sacraments should be freely administered, without charge or demand of money, I shall refer the reader to that place, and to the places from the Concilia which are there cited.[32] These

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[29] Wilkins. *Conc. tom.* 1. *p.* 107. And the same archbishop in his penitential: "Hi sunt legitimi quatuor temporum dies, qui legitime observari debent: id est, Kal. Martii, prima hebdomada; et Kal. Junii, secunda hebdomada; et Kal. Septembr. tertia hebdomada; et Kal. Decembr. hebdomada proxima ante natale Christi." Thorpe. *Ancient Laws, vol.* 2. *p.* 235.

[30] Wilkins. *Concil. tom.* 1. *p.* 365.

[31] *Lib.* vij. *cap.* 3.

[32] An ancient political song of the time of Henry III., after complaining of some vices and immoralities of the clergy, proceeds:

"Donum Dei non donatur,

enactments, as regarded the conferring of Holy Orders, were grounded (as it is expressly stated in the 43rd of the excerpts of Egbert) upon the very ancient (so called) apostolical canon. "If any bishop, presbyter or deacon, shall obtain possession of that dignity by money, let both him and the person who ordained him be deposed, and also altogether cut off from communion, as Simon Magus was." And here I would remark, having just cited these excerptions, that the 45th adopts an African canon, "Episcopus absque concilio presbyterorum clericos non ordinet."

Few injunctions were more frequently repeated, or of earlier date, than that every bishop should confine himself, in the discharge of his duties, strictly to his own diocese: I shall now extract a few orders relating to this, which bear upon the power of celebrating ordinations. The second canon of the council of Hertford (Herutford) in the year 673, is general in its object, but important from its early date: "Ut nullus episcoporum parochiam altérius invadat, sed contentus sit gubernatione creditæ sibi plebis."[33] Archbishop Egbert inserts in his excerpts part of a canon (the 16th) of the council of Nice, to the same effect: but I pass on to the 11th canon of the synod of Chal-

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Nisi gratis conferatur;
Quod qui vendit vel mercatur,
Lepra Syri vulneratur,
quem sic ambit ambitus,
ydolorum servitus,
templo Sancti Spiritus,
Non compaginatur."

MS. Cotton. Jul. D. vij. fol. 133. Printed in the publications of the Camden Society.

[33] Wilkins. *Conc. tom.* 1. *p.* 43. But compare a canon, said to be of a council in Ireland, two hundred years before this: "Episcopus quilibet, qui de sua in alteram progreditur parochiam, nec ordinare præsumat, nisi permissionem acceperit ab eo, qui in suo principatu est." *Ibid.* p. 3.

cuith. "Undecimo præcipimus, sicut priscis temporibus a sanctis patribus traditum esse reperitur; ut nulli episcoporum liceat alterius parochiam invadere, vel etiam aliquid alterius ministerii ad se pertrahere in aliqua consecratione ecclesiarum, vel presbyterorum, diaconorumque, nisi solus archiepiscopus, quia caput est suorum episcoporum." In the year 1126, the tenth canon of a council at London. "Nullus episcoporum alterius parochianum ordinare, vel judicare præsumat."[34]

Lastly, the following provincial of archbishop Wethershed, in the year 1229, as given by Lyndwood. "Quia quidem clerici desperantes ab episcopis suis ordinari propter imperitiam, aut ætatem minorem, extra provinciam suam a transmarinis episcopis ordinantur, vel ordinantur, vel ordinatos se mentiuntur, ignorata sigilla episcopis suis deferentes: statuimus talem ordinationem irritam esse habendam, sub interminatione anathematis inhibentes, ne a quoquam ad

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[34] *Ibid.* p. 171. 408. Cf. p. 609. xv. Among other privileges claimed by or allowed to monasteries, one frequently was, that their members might be ordained by any bishop, and not necessarily by the diocesan. In fact, to such an extent had the exemptions of many religious houses reached, that they acknowledged no diocesan, except the Pope. And the abuses to which this had led, and the frequent quarrels which took place between the monasteries and the bishops are so undeniable, that the necessity of some reformation was plain enough, long before the sixteenth century. The chronicle of W. Thorn, an ardent partizan of the monks of S. Augustine of Canterbury, is not a little instructive upon this point. However, upon the privilege of that abbey, for example, as regards ordinations, I quote the following: "Præterea quod crisma, et oleum sanctum, consecrationes altarium, ordinationes monachorum et clericorum a quocunque voluerimus episcopo catholico poterimus suscipere, nec ea nobis audeat aliquatenus denegare." *Script. X. Tom.* 2. *p.* 1835.

sui officii executionem suscipiantur. Episcopum quoque nostræ jurisdictionis, qui talem sciens et perpendens ordinaverit vel susceperit, ab illius ordinis collatione, ad quem eum susceperit vel ordinaverit, usque ad condignam satisfactionem se noverit esse suspensum."[35] And the dictum of the Pupilla oculi; "Episcopus non debet ordinare clericum alterius diœcesis præter licentiam sui superioris, id est, episcopi in cujus diœcesi iste qui ordinari vult fuit oriundus."[36]

But as in the majority of these irregular ordinations, the persons receiving were, probably, oftener alone in fault, and always must have been themselves conscious of, even though the bishop might possibly have known also, the existence of some canonical impediment, we find very frequent penalties levelled against such

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[35] *Lib.* 1. *tit.* 4.

[36] *Pars* vij. *cap.* 2. F. The same chapter specifies various other restrictions upon the power of conferring orders.

A remarkable mandate is extant, of a bishop of Bath and Wells, which deserves our attention. "Radulphus, episcopus Bath. et Well. archidiacono nostro Well. salutem, gratiam, et benedictionem. Abusionibus quorundam episcopos se dicentium—qui licet non missi officium episcopale in nostra diœc. viz. primam tonsuram et minores ordines conferendo, calices et superaltaria consecrando, vestimenta ecclesiastica benedicendo,—ut lucrum extorqueant temporale, in nostrum opprobrium, et contemptum, et aliorum perniciosum exemplum, absque auctoritate seu licentia aliqua exercere præsumunt, occurrere cupientes, vobis —sub pœna excommunicationis— mandamus, quatenus nullum episcopum, præterquam fratrem Johannem de Langebrugge Buduen. episcopum, suffraganeum nostrum ad hujusmodi speciale officium exercend. sine nostris literis vobis ostensis—admittatis. Inhibeatis insuper—omnibus rectoribus, vicariis, et capellanis—ne tales episcopos recipiant—Citetis insuper, seu citari faciatis peremptorie quemcunque hujusmodi episcopum prætensum, quod compareat coram nobis vel nostro commissario receptur. quod justitia suadebit. Dat. xvi. Jul. 1362." Wilkins. *Conc. tom.* 3. *p.* 49.

offenders. About the year 1173, a canon of Richard, archbishop of Canterbury: "Amodo officium suum non exerceant, qui in alienis episcopatibus furtive ordines susceperunt." Again, a synodal statute of the diocese of Chichester in 1246 thus concludes: "Si quis vero furtive vel simoniace fuerit ordinatus, vel alias contra canonicas sanctiones, non exequatur officium, quousque cum ipso fuerit dispensatum." And once more, the synod of Exeter, in 1287, bearing upon several points before noticed; "Quoniam quidam extranei se oriundos de nostra diœcesi, ac servi se liberos multotiens mentiuntur, ad quod probandum conductitios testes et falsos producunt; nos tam ipsos, quam testes eorum, pro hujusmodi fraudis commento excommunicationis vinculo innodamus." [37]

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[37] Wilkins. *Conc. tom.* 1. *p.* 475. 689. *Tom.* 2. *p.* 137. Cf. *Tom.* 1. *p.* 581. 658. 706. 717.

We find very early in the councils of the English Church, orders as to the precedence of bishops; to be ruled by the dates of their consecrations. Thus in the above cited council at Hertford, in the seventh century; "Octavum, ut nullus episcoporum se præferat alteri per ambitionem, sed omnes agnoscant tempus, et ordinem consecrationis suæ." But before the Conquest, privileges had been granted to some sees; for in a council under Lanfranc, A.D. 1075, we find it decreed, after examination, that according to ancient rule the archbishop of York should sit on the right hand of the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of London on the left, and Winchester next to York. If the archbishop of York was not present, then the bishop of London took his place. *Concil. tom.* 1. *p.* 363. Thus Gervase in his chronicle, speaking of a council held under Henry II. says; "Ad dextram primatis sedit episcopus Londoniensis, quia inter episcopos Cant. ecclesiæ suffraganeos decanatus præminet dignitate. Ad sinistram sedit episcopus Wintoniensis, quia cantoris officio præcellit. Cæteri tam episcopi quam abbates secundum primogenita consecrationis suæ consederunt." *Script. X. tom.* 1. *p.* 1430. Com-

I am not aware that if, in contradiction to these canons, a bishop ventured heedlessly or criminally to confer orders, he would incur the following penalty; but I mention it, as being worth notice, and having reference also to the solemnity with which, at his consecration, the proper vestments were put on by the newly elected bishop, and regarded in some degree as conveying a distinctive character. The two cases to which reference is made, are, neglect of consecrating churches, and of punishing criminous clerks: in the first, from the time that he has refused to perform it, being properly required, and not lawfully hindered, "a dalmaticæ, tunicæ, et sandaliorum usu, donec eam duxerit consecrandam, noverit se suspensum: quæ in

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pare the "Ymagines historiarum" of Ralph de Diceto, *ibid. p.* 671. And Gervase again, for an example, when the archbishop of York was present, and occupied his proper position in a procession. *Ibid. p.* 1587: and he adds; "Roffensis vero qui Cantuariensis archiepiscopi capellanus est, prope archiepiscopum subsequetur a tergo." The statement of the chronicler as to the office of the bishop of Rochester, and above, as to the office of the bishop of Winchester, is contrary to the rule laid down by Lyndwood, (and followed by archbishop Parker, *De Ant. Brit. Ecc. p.* 32, and later authorities,) "Habet archiepiscopus Cant. in collegio episcoporum episcopos, Londinensem decanum, Wintoniensem cancellarium, Lincolniensem vicecancellarium, Sarisburiensem præcentorem, Wigorniensem capellanum, Roffensem cruciferarium." *Lib.* 5. *Tit.* 15. Eternæ. *verb.* tanquam. And it appears that a dispute did arise about this matter, between the bishops of London and Rochester, in the time of Richard I. See *Chron. Gervas. Script. X. tom.* 1. *p.* 1586. and Abp. Parker. *p.* 226.

I had made some collections respecting the disputes between the archbishops of Canterbury and York, which so frequently are mentioned in the old chronicles, and the councils. But the subject is so extensive, that I have been obliged to pass it over altogether.

ipso consecrationis actu illico reassumat:" and the other is to the same effect. Both these are in the legatine constitutions of Otho.[38]

There was a facility which persons anciently might avail themselves of, surreptitiously to obtain orders, which has long been checked: this arose from the great number of persons who were ordained. I have unfortunately mislaid a reference to one of the Cotton manuscripts in the British Museum, in which I saw some long contemporary lists of ordinations, with names and other particulars, in the fourteenth century. But this is a point upon which easily ample information might be obtained, I doubt not, from existing records in the episcopal registers of the various dioceses: and I shall extract the following only from the Archæologia. "In the episcopate of bishop Brantyngham, at an ordination celebrated in Tiverton church by William Courtenay, bishop of Hereford, on the 8th June, 1370, there were ordained three hundred and seventy-four persons; of whom, one hundred and sixty-three received the first tonsure; one hundred and twenty were ordained acolyths; thirty, subdeacons; thirty-one, deacons; and thirty, priests."[39]

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[38] *Tit.* 3. and 8. There is nothing of importance in John de Athon's gloss upon these passages.

[39] *Vol.* 18. *p.* 414. Compare some remarks in the dissertation on service books, as to the number of churches in this country, before the reformation. *vol.* 1. *p.* clxviij. *note.* 83.

CHAPTER VII.

Office of Inthronization.

THE office, which I have placed next to the service of the consecration of a bishop, is that of his inthronization. This will not require of me many observations. Several forms relating to the inthronization of a bishop of Bath and Wells, in the 13th century, have been printed by Wilkins: to which I must refer the student: and another, a letter of summons to certain abbots by archbishop Winchelsey, to attend the solemnity in his own instance.[1]

The dispute which I have already noticed between the bishops of London and Rochester, had regard to the right of inthroning the archbishop: I quote the account given by archbishop Parker, which shews that the controversy once opened, there was no lack of claimants of the privilege, and that it ended in a compromise. "Inthronizandi enim jus Londinensis ut decanus, Roffensis ut capellanus, archiepiscopi sibi vendicavit. His autem litigantibus interponunt se monachi, suumque jus asserunt esse. Tum totus episcoporum cœtus instabat, et ad se tam inthronizationem, quam consecrationem, spectare affirmabant. Hac dissentione turbata aliquantulum pallii suscipiendi ceremonia fuit. Tandem sic composita lis est; ut, in throno sedentis episcopus Londinensis, pallium autem suscipientis episcopus Roffensis, archiepiscopi dextras occuparet."[2]

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[1] Conc. *tom.* 2. *p.* 196. 214. [2] De antiq. Brit. Ecc. *p.* 226.

The inthronization of the archbishops was followed by a sumptuous feast, at which some of the chief persons in the kingdom performed certain services, as at coronation banquets, either claimed as privileges and honours, or as the conditions upon which they held manors or estates. I need scarcely remind the reader of the great feast of George Nevil, archbishop of York, in the reign of Edward IV., of which a particular account is printed by Hearne, "out of an old paper roll;" and another, equally magnificent, of archbishop Warham, in 1504.[3]

One of the benedictions printed below, (see page 321.) is, of the seal of a bishop. These after their death were anciently destroyed. At the end of one of the Durham inventories printed by the Surtees society, it is stated; "Post mortem Richardi Byry episcopi fracta fuerunt iiij. sigilla ejusdem."[4] A. D. 1345. The

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[3] Leland. *Collectanea.* Append. *vol.* 6. *p.* 2. 16. In the history of William de Chambre, printed in the Anglia Sacra, (*tom.* 1. *p.* 766) is an account of the inthronization of bishop Richard de Bury: "in qua installatione fecit grande convivium: ubi interfuerunt rex et regina Angliæ, mater regis Angliæ, rex Scotiæ, duo archiepiscopi et quinque episcopi, septem comites cum uxoribus suis, et omnes magnates citra Trentam —— cum innumera multitudine communitatis." A. D. 1334. I cannot resist quoting also the following, of the same bishop. "Iste summe delectabatur in multitudine librorum. Plures enim libros habuit, ut passim dicebatur, quam omnes pontifices Angliæ. Et præter eos quos habuit in diversis maneriis suis repositos separatim, ubicunque cum sua familia residebat, tot libri jacebant in camera qua dormivit, quod ingredientes vix stare poterant vel incedere, nisi librum aliquem pedibus conculcarent." *Ibid. p.* 765. He was the author of the Philobiblos. Godwin. *de præsul. p.* 748.

[4] Wills and Inventories, *p.* 26. In this instance the broken seals were made into a silver-gilt chalice for the altar of S. John the Baptist. One of the constitutions of Otho, *Quoniam tabellionum*, is directed to the subject of au-

present custom is to send the seals of a deceased bishop to Lambeth, where they are broken up.

The pontifical ring was also anciently sent to the archbishop of Canterbury: in the year 1310, upon the decease of one of the bishops of Ely, the ring was not delivered as it ought to have been; and archbishop Winchelsey issued a writ directed to one Richard de Oteringham, who was administering the spiritualties of the see during its vacancy, in order to obtain possession of it. It begins, "Robertus, *etc.* Salutem. Cum nuper ad nostram audientiam pervenisset, quod fratres Amisius et Robertus, monachi Elienses, annulum, qui pontificalis vulgariter appellatur, quondam domini Roberti Elien. episcopi defuncti, qui de jure et consuetudine nostræ ecclesiæ Cant. ad nos dignoscitur pertinere, post mortem ejusdem episcopi auctoritate propria occupassent, et detinerent occupatum; vobis dedimus, *etc.*"[5] The monks of Ely, it appears, argued, that the

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thentic seals: it orders that all archbishops, bishops, abbots, &c., should procure them, with the proper legend and distinctions: and that great care should be taken of them, lest they should fall into unfaithful hands, or be used for false purposes. The student should consult John de Athon upon this constitution, but I am not aware that either he, or Lyndwood, anywhere explains what the practice was with regard to the seals, after a bishop's or other dignitary's decease. Lyndwood in one place, speaking of an authentic seal, says; "Sed quid si episcopus de novo consecratus, vel electus, confirmatus, nondum habeat sigillum hujusmodi paratum ad manus, habet tamen sigillum armorum vel signetum, an sufficiat alterum eorum talibus literis apponere? videtur quod sic, dum tamen tale sigillum sit notum." *Lib.* 5. *tit.* 5. Reverendissimæ. *verb.* sigillo. Compare as to the use of seals, attached to letters of orders, the fifth canon of a council at Westminster, A. D. 1175. *Wilkins. tom.* 1. *p.* 477.

[5] Wilkins. *Conc. tom.* 2. *p.* 403. It is possible that the rings of the deceased bishops of Ely alone, were due to the archbishop: and it seems certain that in the

bishop, before his death, had given the ring to their convent.

Reception of the Pall.

Succeeding the office of the inthronization of a bishop, in this volume, the reader will find the order which was to be observed, when the archbishop of Canterbury received his pall. The origin of this ornament, as used by archbishops, is involved in hopeless obscurity; to use the words of Van Espen, "Quando et quomodo usus illius ornamenti incœperit, sat obscurum est, sive Græcam sive Latinam ecclesiam spectemus."[6] There are two early documents, which if they were genuine, (and not a doubt remains that neither is so), would have thrown some light upon this question. One is the once famous Donation of Constantine, the other the Liber Pontificalis, in the life of S. Mark, pope A. D. 336.[7] As to this last, it is the earliest notice, genuine or not genuine, which has been yet produced for the antiquity of the pall: and the Jesuit Garnier, in his third dissertation upon the Liber Diurnus, not only quotes it as of authority, but contends, that Linus, the successor of S. Peter, originally adopted it.[8] He is sufficiently modest indeed, to exclaim against some unfortunate authors of the 12th

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11th century, no such claim was acknowledged by the bishops of Rochester. See the case of bishop Gundulph, in the Anglia Sacra; *pars*. 2. *p*. 290. cf. *p*. 292.

[6] Jus eccles. *tom*. 1. *p*. 169.

[7] This "Liber pontificalis," I need scarcely remind the reader must not be confounded with the "Pontifical," commonly so called: this was, "de gestis Romanorum pontificum." It is a valuable work, and I believe the best edition is by *Joannes Vignolius*, with various readings, &c. 3 vols. Rom. 1724.

[8] *p*. 251.

century,[9] who have attributed the use of it to S. Peter himself. It seems however to have been introduced about the fifth or sixth century into the Latin church from the East: and Thomassin has not been able to produce any example before the time of Cæsar of Arles about the year 500.[10]

The form of the pall is thus described by Innocent III. "Pallium fit de candida lana contextum, habet desuper circulum humeros constringentem, et duas lineas sive fascias ex eodem panno ab utraque parte dependentes: quatuor autem cruces purpureas, ante et retro, a dextris et sinistris: sed a sinistris pallium est duplex, simplex a dextris; cui in tres partes conciso tres acus infiguntur (spinas vocant alii) quibus consuitur."[11]

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[9] Rupertus Abbas: for example. *De div. off. lib.* 1. *cap.* 27. Bibl. Patrum. Auct. *tom.* 1. *p.* 863. Catalani, nevertheless, does not fear to support him. *In Cærem. Episc. tom.* 1. *p.* 256. And he cites an epistle of Leo the Great, and a passage from Liberatus, to shew that S. Mark received the pall from S. Peter, and with it his patriarchal authority. In the numerous works of that author, we scarcely know which to admire the most; his learning, or his prejudice.

[10] Compare Alberti, *de sacris utensilibus, tom.* 1. *p.* 6.

[11] De Myst. Miss. *lib.* 1. *cap.* 63. The reader who wishes accurately to examine the subject, as to the first adoption of the pall, how it was originally a royal habit, the office of the benediction, its mystical signification, and other particulars, must consult not only the middle-age ritualists, and our own historians, who very briefly notice it, but Van Espen, *Jus. Eccles.* Pars. 1. Tit. xix. de Marca, *de concord. Sacerd. et Imper. lib.* 6. *cap.* 6. Thomassin, *de Benef. Pars.* 1. *lib.* 2. liij. Catalani: *in Pontif. tom.* 1. *p.* 235. and, *in Cærem. Episc. tom.* 1. *p.* 244. Ferraris. *Bibl. verb.* Pallium: Benedict XIV. *de Synodo, lib.* 3. and Georgius, *de lit. Rom. pontif.* lib. 1. cap. xxv.

I quote the following from the third dissertation attached to the Liber Diurnus, before noticed. "Vox pallii apud Latinitatis autores vestem illam longam significat, quæ aliis indumentis impo-

It will be observed in the notes below, that an archbishop, if translated from one see to another, was obliged to apply to the court of Rome for a new pall: this was on account of the *personal* character which was attributed to that ornament. Hence Cœlestin III. decided, in his answer to an enquiry on the subject, "quod non videatur esse conveniens, 'ut pallium tuum alicui commodes: cum pallium in personam non transeat, sed quisque debeat cum eo (sicut tua novit discretio) sepeliri.'"[12] This is introduced into the rubric of the modern Roman pontifical. There are numerous accounts of the burying of archbishops in their vestments, to be found in their Acts, and in the Bollandists: but I remember only one English example in which the pall is expressly mentioned. Catalani says that we are to conclude that S. Dunstan was buried in his pall, because we are told that at the translation of his body, it was found, upon examination, that the ring was upon his finger: and therefore the other vestments proper to his dignity. This seems a somewhat hasty inference.[13] However, the following is clear enough: arch-

nitur, ut subinde assumatur cum prodeundum in publicum; deponatur, quando quisque domi apud se est. In sacris ornamentis vox illa ambiguam habet significationem; sumitur enim, aliquando pro veste sacra, quæ superinduitur, ut quod pluviale dicitur, quodque cappa et casula; aliquando pro insigni quodam dignitatis eximiæ, quod ipsi etiam cappæ casulæque imponitur, sicut pallium reliquis vestibus, vel est pallii ornamentum quoddam et decus." Several very ancient *formulæ* are given in the diurnal, upon occasions when the pall was sent from Rome to archbishops, *p.* 125. These also should be referred to.

[12] *Cap.* 3. x, *de auctoritate et usu pallii.* Van Espen. *tom.* 1. *p.* 171. See also Castaldus, *Praxis Cærem. lib.* 1. §. x. *cap.* 12.

[13] Comment. in pontif. Rom. *tom.* 1. *p.* 248. Martene. *tom.* 2. *p.* 368.

Martene cites the following from

bishop Becket, the day after he was murdered, was hastily buried: still with regard had to certain solem-

a manuscript of some anonymous writer, entitled the Speculum Ecclesiæ. "Sigillum cereum in modum crucis compactum et aquam benedictam continens super caput defuncti ponimus, quod est signum baptismi et christianitatis suæ, et testimonium quod ipse fidem Christi habuit in mente. Clerici vero ordinati cum illis indumentis in quibus fuerunt ordinati debent et sepeliri, et sacerdos cum illis cum quibus assistit altari, monachus vero cum cuculla sua, quod est professionis suæ signum. Super pectus vero sacerdotis debet poni calix loco sigilli, quidquid sit de oblata: quod si non habetur, stanneus saltem Samius, id est fictilis. Episcopus debet habere anulum, quia sponsus est: cæteri sacerdotes non, quia sponsi non sunt, sed amici sponsi vel vicarii. Item capilli debent clerico tonderi, corona fieri, barba radi." *Tom.* 2. *p.* 368.

A very detailed and interesting account of the ancient manner of burying and performing the obsequies of the abbots of S. Albans is given in Matt. Paris' lives, attached to his History. Speaking of one he says, after explaining the way in which the corpse had been previously prepared: "Portabatur igitur corpus a camera quæ dicitur abbatis, ubi expiraverat, in infirmariam; et ibidem pontificalibus est indutum: mitra capiti appositum, manibus chirotheeæ, cum annulo, et dextro sub brachio baculus consuetus, manibus cancellatis, sandalia in pedibus decenter aptata." *P.* 1064.

In the above, there is a reference to a custom or distinction, upon which I take this opportunity of making a remark, as I am not aware that it has been noticed by writers upon the subject. Matthew Paris says, that the pastoral staff was placed under the abbot's right arm. It is well known, that one distinguishing mark, between the mode of carrying this staff, by a bishop or by an abbot, was, that the first turned the crook outwards to denote his jurisdiction over a diocese, the other inwards, towards himself, to denote that his jurisdiction reached over the members only of his own House. But the first moreover carried his staff in his left hand, the latter in his right. And according to this rule, we find many effigies. For example, there is an early monument of an abbot of Westminster, in the cloisters, with his staff in the right hand: (the crook, by the way, outwards.) Again, there is a very interesting account, with a plate, in the Archæologia, of the discovery lately of the body of an abbot of Evesham, who died in 1263: it was found vested, with a

nities: "amotis distributisque ejus quotidianis vestibus superioribus, sepultus est in ipso, in quo inventus est cilicio, et famularibus interius cilicinis, exterius lineis, et in eisdem caligis, et in ipso quo erat habitu monachali. Et supra hæc, in ipso eodem in quo ordinatus fuit vestimento, alba quæ Græce poderis dicitur, superhumerali simplici, chrismatica, mitra, stola, mappula: supra quæ habuit archiepiscopaliter tunicam, dalmaticam, casulam, pallium cum spinulis, calicem, chirothecas,

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chalice and paten; and reaching across the body, with the crook turned inwards, over the right shoulder and clasped by the right arm, lay the pastoral staff. *Vol.* 20. *p.* 566. See also the figure of Adam Islip, in Strutt's Regal Antiq.: and another, in pl. LX. On the contrary, the seals and effigies of bishops represent them carrying the staff in the left hand: as, in Salisbury cathedral, the boy-bishop, and bishop Jocelyn. Or compare those in Stothard's monumental effigies. Before I close this note, I would remark that it has been said by some, that an abbot, *ad differentiam*, had a veil round his staff: this may have been true in some churches abroad, and Gavantus, *tom.* 1. *p.* 122, cites some acts of the church of Milan to that purpose: but I cannot say whether it was observed, as a distinction, in England. One thing is certain, that if it was, it was not confined to abbots: because the splendid effigy of bishop John de Sheppy, in Rochester cathedral, has the staff surrounded with a veil. *Archæologia, vol.* 25, *p.* 122. Neither probably was it the case with exempt abbots.

Matthew Paris relates also the funeral solemnities of S. Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, in the year 1200. The kings of England and Scotland, three archbishops, and thirteen bishops, with a multitude of clergy, met the corpse. "Quod ipsi reges, cum comitibus et cæteris principibus portaverunt in humeris suis, usque ad atrium cathedralis ecclesiæ. Ad ostium autem ecclesiæ susciperunt illud archiepiscopi præfati et episcopi; et sic per ministerium prælatorum perlatum est usque in chorum, ubi est honorifice pernoctatum.——Dum ipse more pontificum discooperta facie jaceret, mitram habens in capite, chirothecas in manibus, annulum in digito, cum cæteris pontificalibus ornamentis, *etc.*" *Hist. p.* 172.

annulum, sandalia, pastoralem baculum; quo consuetum est more, quo dignum est honore."[14]

William of Malmesbury's account of the reception of his pall by archbishop Anselm is important: "Data ei publice potestate, ut per totum regnum primatus sui jus exerceret libere, dies præfixa, qua Albanensis episcopus cum pallio Cantuariam veniret, venienti, et sacrum insigne in vase argenteo deferenti vulgo applausum, ab archiepiscopo nudipede, sed sacerdotalibus vestimentis indutus occursum. Inde super altare Domini salvatoris pallium assumptum sacratus pontifex beatis humeris composuit, et ad divina celebranda processit.[15]"

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[14] Vita, a W. Stephanide. apud Sparkes. *p.* 89.

[15] De gestis Pontif. Ang. *Edit.* Savile, *p.* 125. The historian adds; "Erat tunc dies Dominica, 4. Idus Junii, fuitque nonnullis ingenti miraculo, quod idem evangelium illa die occurrit, quod ante prognosticon ejus fuerat." See below, p. 257, note 25. And compare the account in Eadmer, *Hist. lib.* 2. *cap.* 5. who adds; "Pater etiam ipse episcopis, qui ob hoc Cantuariam venerant, dextra lævaque stipatus ac sustentatus, sacro beati Petri muneri nudis pedibus devotus occurrit. Tali devotionis cultu, pallium assumptum est, atque ab omnibus suppliciter deosculatum."

Although, as I have already said above, the origin of the pall, and its first adoption, as an ecclesiastical ornament, cannot be discovered, yet there is ample evidence, if it was necessary to go into it, proving how eagerly in the middle ages, the bishops of Rome employed it, as an instrument to extend and support their usurpations, and to obtain revenues. Having steadily, as time went on, added now a little and then a little to the unjust claims which they made over the originally independent metropolitans of the English Church, among which the privileges which they pretended to convey or withhold with the pall, were not the least flagrant and unfounded; our histories, as Dr. Inett has said, "from the reign of Innocent III. downward, are very full of the oppressions and most horrible abuses and exactions, which were the consequences of such doctrines." And he rightly characterizes them as "bold insults (to say no worse) on the rights and authority of the whole catholick church." *Origines Anglic. vol.* 1. *p.* 165.

I shall further cite the following from the chronicle of Gervase: relating to the reception of his pall by archbishop Hubert, A. D. 1193. "Archiepiscopus Cantuariam veniens ab episcopis Angliæ et conventu Cantuariensi honorifice et in osculo pacis vij. idus Novembris susceptus est. Deinde alba indutus et cappa, sequente conventu, nudus pedes incedens, pallium suscepit per manum nuntii Cœlestini papæ. Quo redimitus pallio cum cæteris episcopalibus indumentis, inthronizatus est, et missam celebravit."[16]

In the collection of Wilkins are several forms of the oath anciently taken by the archbishops on receiving the pall:[17] and in the year 1293, is the following "*Forma petitionis pallii.* Postulat devota vestra filia ecclesia Christi Cantuar. concedi pallium de corpore beati Petri sumptum electo suo consecrato, ut habeat plenitudinem officii; et pro hoc instanter et fortiter supplicat sanctitati vestræ." In the same place is a "*Forma traditionis pallii,*" differing from that in the office below: this is said to be taken from the registers

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[16] Script. X. *tom.* 1. *p.* 1586.

[17] Concil. *tom.* 2. *p.* 199: *tom.* 3. *p.* 154. 647. See also, Anglia Sacra, *tom.* 1. *p.* 372. and Gibson, *Codex. Juris. Ecc. p.* 105. It is quite clear from what Ralph de Diceto says, of the nuncio, in describing the ceremony on the occasion of archbishop Hubert, that the oath frequently varied: "Qui veniens ante majus altare, triplici sacramento quod ab antiquis temporibus introductum est, adauctis quibusdam novis verborum formulis involvit archiepiscopum." *Script.X. tom.* 1.*p.*671.

The engagement entered into to visit the see of Rome personally or by deputy, within a certain number of years, was deferred often by leave from the pope: and, in some cases, the sovereign himself interfered, and in the form of a humble supplication, requested the time to be prolonged: this was backed by a similar missive directed to the cardinals for their interposition. See Rymer, *Fœdera, tom.* 2. *pars* 2. *p.* 84. and again, *p.* 127.

of Canterbury. "Ad honorem Dei omnipotentis, et B. Mariæ virginis, et beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, et domini papæ Cœlestini, et S. Romanæ ecclesiæ, necnon ecclesiæ tibi commissæ, tradimus tibi pallium de corpore Petri sumptum, plenitudinem scil. pontificalis officii; ut utaris eo infra ecclesiam tuam certis diebus, qui exprimuntur in privilegiis ab apostolica sede concessis."[18]

ROYAL AND EPISCOPAL RECEPTIONS.

THE next Order, edited in this volume, is that which was appointed to be used upon the occasion of solemnly receiving either at a city, or cathedral, or abbey, any sovereign, legate, cardinal, or bishop. The custom of the clergy of the place, at which such a personage

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[18] *Concil. tom.* 2. *p.* 199. I must refer the refer the reader to the letters of the pope, on the inthronization of Simon de Mepham, A. D. 1328, "et de pallii receptione." *Ibid. p.* 544.

The frequent reference which the student will find, to the pall being "de corpore beati Petri," relates to the circumstance that they were not made (if I may so call it) at the high altar of the church of S. Peter, but at the altar over the supposed tomb of the apostle: and the benediction being completed, the pall was left one night upon that altar. As to the doctrine of the plenitude of the episcopal office being conveyed by it, I extract the following important observations of Van Espen. "Id tamen nequaquam hoc sensu accipiendum est, quasi ipsum pallium aliquam revera ordinis potestatem ipsi consecrato tribueret; cum sit merum externum aliquod ornamentum; sed quod ante illius receptionem ex jure mere positivo, seu consuetudine jam recepta, metropolitani nec suas functiones obire, nec nomen archiepiscopi assumere queant; quæ disciplina quo præcise tempore invaluerit, incertum est; videtur autem tempore Conc. viij. Œcumenici saltem in oriente fuisse nota: et ex oriente ad Latinam ecclesiam transiisse." *Jus. Eccles. tom.* 1. *p.* 171. Compare Ferraris. *Prompta Bibl. verb.* Archiepiscopus. *art.* iij.

was to arrive, to go forth in procession to meet him, and to conduct him to the church, is of very high antiquity, as may be seen by many accounts of it, to be found in the Acta Sanctorum, or in the collection of lives by Surius: and again, the well known reference made by S. Gregory Nazianzen to the reception of S. Athanasius, after his return from exile, or the procession with which S. Chrysostom met Epiphanius, in the succeeding century.[19]

And, as of bishops, so also we find, in later times, many examples of legates, received with the due solemnities: I quote the words of Matthew Paris, relating the arrival of the legate Otho, whose constitutions afterwards published are so famous, and of such high authority. "Occurrerunt ei episcopi et clerici famosi usque ad littus:—rex autem ei usque ad confinium maris occurrit; et inclinato ad genua ejus capite, usque ad interiora regni deduxit officiose. Et adventantes episcopi, cum abbatibus, et aliis ecclesiarum prælatis, eum cum omni honore et reverentia, cum processionibus et campanarum classico, receperunt."[20]

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[19] Sozomen. *Hist. Ecc.* lib. 8. cap. xiv. "Eum ingredientem Joannes occursu cleri totius honoravit." A mark of respect, of which, in this particular case, the bishop afterwards shewed himself scarcely worthy. I would add this illustration also from the life of Cæsar Arelatensis: "Ubi autem percrebuit hominem Dei reverti, jamque eum urbi propinquare, omnes utriusque sexus cum crucibus et cereis ei processere obviam, psallentes, et ingressum ejus opperientes." *Apud Surium.* Aug. xxvij.

[20] *Hist. Angl. p.* 371. A. D. 1237. This is not the place for me to enter upon the history, and functions, and dignity, of the legates of the church of Rome; I shall merely remind the reader that the canonists make three distinctions of legates: viz. (to adopt the words of Van Espen) "Legati *a latere* vocantur legati cardinales: quia assumuntur de latere papæ.—Legati *missi* sunt,

I would give the following early example in the English church, of the reception of a bishop: the *Historia Eliensis*, speaking of S. Wulstan, says: "qualis denique vir iste apud Deum semper extiterit, circa vitæ finem evidenter apparuit, quodam enim tempore contigit eum hanc ecclesiam orationis causa visitare, cui fratres loci processionaliter cum magna ut decuit reverentia occurrerunt, cumque jam in ecclesiam fuisset deductus, et in capite processionis episcopali more baculo pastorali staret innixus; subito, *etc.*"[21] Nor does the reader probably forget the account given us by Bede, of Ethelbert's reception of S. Augustine in the open air, for fear of some magical influence: "at illi non dæmonica, sed divina virtute, præditi veniebant, crucem pro vexillo ferentes argenteam, et imaginem Domini Salvatoris in tabula depictam."[22]

From about the twelfth century it was usual to receive all bishops, on their visitations and progresses through their dioceses, with ringing of bells: and there are frequent entries in ancient parish records of payments on that account. A foreign canon gives a just reason for this observance. "Mandamus, et statuimus, quod quotiescunque episcopi per civitates suas, et diœceses transierint, rectores, seu clerici ecclesiarum, qui sciverint, eos per suas parochias transire,

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qui mittuntur ad aliquam provinciam, sed non sunt cardinales: et hujus generis esse solent hodierni *nuntii*, et *internuntii*, apud reges et principes, tanquam legati pontificis residentes.—Legati *nati* vocantur, qui dignitati suæ ecclesiasticæ officium et munus legati apostolici annexum habent." *Jus. Eccles. Pars* 1. *tit.* xxi. The whole title should be consulted: and Thomassin, *de Benef.* II. *lib.* 1. 52.

[21] *Script. X V. tom.* 3. *p.* 506.

[22] Hist. Eccles. *lib.* 1. *cap.* 25. Compare the end of the same chapter.

campanas pulsent, seu pulsari faciant, ita quod populus audire possit et exire, et genua flectere ad benedictionem suscipiendam."[23] I must refer the reader to the appendix to Dugdale's history of S. Paul's cathedral,[24] for an "Ordo ad recipiendum episcopum," according to the use of that church, but he does not state at what date.

There are several notices in the chronicles of royal receptions: I extract one only; the place was S. Alban's, in the time of Richard II. "Finitis vesperis cum processione solemni obviam regi processum est ab abbate et conventu ad occidentale ostium monasterii, acceptusque est honorifice cum pulsationibus campanorum, cantuque tam debito quam devoto."[25] These royal visits were not always so acceptable, it would seem, as they ought to have been: the same author tells us soon after; "Dum hæc aguntur, rex Angliæ et regina cum suis Boemiis abbathias regni circuunt visitando, quibus tanto tristior fuerit eorum adventus, quanto gravior, quia et accesserunt in excessivo numero, et non offerre sed auferre venerunt."[26]

But I must not omit one of the latest examples which we have, before the reformation, after which

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[23] Concil. Raven. *Can.* 6. A.D. 1314.

[24] *P.* 238. *edit.* 1658. And compare for a reception of an abbot of S. Albans, "processionaliter," Matt. Paris. *Vitæ abbatum. p.* 1051.

[25] Walsingham. *Hist. Angl. p.* 274. A curious circumstance regarding queen Philippa at Durham is related by R. de Graystanes; *Anglia Sacra, tom.* 1. *p.* 760.

[26] *Ibid. p.* 302. In this "ruinous" progress, the abbey of Bury is especially mentioned as having suffered the severe infliction of a ten days' visit; at an expense, besides other losses, of 800 marks. The historian does not tell us what processions took place, on the occasion of the royal departure.

period the ancient religious ceremonies on such occasions were, of course, no longer observed. In the summer of 1541, Henry VIII. kept his progress, and a contemporary account has been preserved of his entry into Lincoln. We are concerned only with one part of the ceremony, at his approach to the cathedral. "Item, the bushoppe of lyncolne wth all thole Queere and crosse were readye, and stodde in the mynster alonge on bothe sydes the bodye of the churche, gyvinge attend'unce, and when his grace was alyghtid at the weste ende of the mynster, where were ordenyd and spred as well carpett as stooles wth quyssheons of clothe of golde, for the kyng's hyghnes, wheron was a crucyfyx laid, and one other on the queenes grace's stoole. Item, aftre his grace was kneelid downe the busshoppe came forthe of the churche and gaue the crucyfyx to the kinge to kysse, and then to the queene, and then censyd them, hys myter beinge on hys heade, and thus proceaded they into the churche, the kinge and queenes grace goinge vndre the Canape to the Sacrement, where they made theyre prayers, thole queere synginge melodyouslye *Te Deum*, and aftre this don, his grace went strayght to his lodginge."[27]

Reconciliation of a Church.

We come now to the Form which was used at the Reconciliation of a Church or Churchyard: which was

[27] Archæologia, *vol.* 23. *p.* 338. Communicated by Sir F. Madden: who observes, as giving a further interest to this instance; "the queen's guilt (Catharine Howard) it will be remembered, with Thomas Culpeper, was established by evidence of the fatal night she passed at Lincoln." Compare also the very interesting account of a reception of Henry VI. at Bury S. Edmund's, from a register of that abbey: also printed in the Archæol. *vol.* 15. *p.* 66.

considered to be necessary when unhappily the sacred building had been polluted by bloodshed, or the commission of some impurity or profanation, or, by the burial of an excommunicated person; or again, when a great portion of the church might happen to have been destroyed by fire or other accident.[28] Durand says, and with more than his usual judgment; "Fit reconciliatio ad exemplum et terrorem, ut videlicet, videntes ecclesiam, quæ in nullo peccavit, propter peccatum alterius lavari et purificari, existiment quantum propter suorum delictorum expiationem sit laborandum."[29]

Reconsecration, in these cases, never was permitted; and this rule was based upon the mystical resemblance which consecration was supposed to have to Holy Baptism: as it is plainly stated in the Decretum, *Dist.* 68. *Can.* 3. under the authority of a pseudo-Nicene canon: "Quia sicut infans a qualicunque sacerdote in nomine Patris, *etc.* semel baptizatus, non debet iterum baptizari, ita nec locus Deo dicatus iterum consecrandus est." This canon is quoted, after Gratian, by almost every writer on this subject, wherefore I have introduced it; and although not genuine, as attributed to so high a source, yet the principle of it was universally acknowledged from a very remote antiquity. For S. Gregory in one of his epistles places together cases of doubtful baptism, confirmation, and consecration of a church; deciding that each is to be performed,

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[28] These were the chief reasons, as given in the Pupilla Oculi: *pars.* ix. *cap.* 1. and each admitted of a variety of modifications, which the student may find fully discussed in the various canonists: he should especially consult Hostiensis, *in Summa. Lib.* 3. *Rubr.* xl.

[29] *Rationale. lib.* 1. cap. vj. 44.

"quoniam non monstratur iteratum quod non certis indiciis ostenditur rite peractum."[30] And long before his time, in the year 398, the 6th canon of the 5th council of Carthage, after speaking of doubtful baptism, continues: "Similiter et de ecclesiis, quoties super earum consecratione hæsitatur, agendum est, id est, ut sine ulla trepidatione consecrentur."[31]

I quote from Matthew Paris, (*ad an.* 1173) the account of the suspension of the celebration of Divine Service in the cathedral of Canterbury, after the murder of archbishop Becket. "Post mortem beati Thomæ martyris fere anno integro, ecclesia Cantuariensis a divinis cessans obsequiis, continuis perstitit in lamentis, subversum est ecclesiæ pavimentum, sonus est campanarum suspensus, nudati sunt parietes ornamentis, et sic quasi in cinere et cilicio exequias in tristitia et mœrore persolvit. Sed tandem ad matris suæ Dorobernensis ecclesiæ vocationem, in festo sancti Thomæ apostoli, suffraganei convenerunt episcopi, ut ecclesiam, longa suspensione consternatam, juxta mandatum domini papæ, in statum pristinum reformarent. Bartholomæus igitur Exoniensis episcopus, ad petitionem conventus, missam celebraturus solennem, et sermonem ad populum habiturus, sic exorsus est: 'Secundum multitudinem dolorum meorum in corde meo, consolationes tuæ lætificant animam meam.'"

Upon the question how far a church and its churchyard were mutually influenced in regard of a desecration, I quote Van Espen. "Polluta ecclesia, cœmeterium si ei fuerit contiguum, censebitur quoque pollu-

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[30] *Lib.* 12. *Epist.* xxxj.

[31] Mansi. *Concil. tom.* 3. *p.* 969. It must, however, be added, that in some copies of this council, this final clause is omitted.

tum; secus si remotum fuerit ab eadem. At e converso polluto cœmeterio non censetur propterea polluta ecclesia, tametsi contigua: et, si duo sint cœmeteria quæ pariete medio sibi junguntur, uno polluto, aliud pollutum censeri non debeat."[32]

There were some difficulties in deciding whether, if the altar was destroyed or removed, a reconsecration of the church would be required. The later practice, (as now observed, I believe, by the church of Rome) was against it. This appears to have been the received opinion in the time of the author of the Pupilla: who adopts the rule, "propter altaris fractionem aut destructionem vel mensæ amotionem, non reconsecratur ecclesia, sed solum altare."[33] But S. Anselm thought otherwise, and the practice of the church of England, we must conclude, in his day was also contrary. He is replying to a question upon the point, put to him by an abbot: "In hoc omnes concordant quod violato principali, tota ecclesia cum altari iterum consecranda est: nec ecclesia consecranda est sine consecratione altaris, aut principalis, aut alicujus alterius in eadem ecclesia."[34]

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[32] *Jus. eccles. Pars.* ii. 2. *tit.* 1. (*tom.* 1. *p.* 632.) His opinion is of course based on the decisions of the canon law. The same rule is laid down in the Pupilla. *loc. cit.* T.

[33] *loc. cit.* F.

[34] Epist. *Lib.* 3. clix. *Opera. p.* 423. Van Espen says that the archbishop was deceived in his judgment, owing to his reliance upon a false decretal. I have cited the passage, as illustrative of the then practice of the English church. S. Anselm not only however gives his decision, but the reason of it: he continues in the same epistle: "Altare non fit propter ecclesiam, sed ecclesia propter altare: et ideo violato principali altari, jam non videtur esse ecclesia quia non est illud, propter quod ecclesia construitur et consecratur. Quapropter cum illud fit novum, recte videtur cum

The archbishop further says: "Si aliqua pars ecclesiæ destructa reficitur, aut nova sit altari immoto, aqua tantum ab episcopo benedicta aspergendam dicunt." And upon this point, I shall also quote the Pupilla. "In tribus casibus debet ecclesia dudum consecrata iterum consecrari. Primus casus est quando dubitatur an fuerit consecrata, an non: et hoc quia non apparet aliqua scriptura aut instrumentum de dotatione ipsius ecclesiæ: in libro vel columna vel tabula marmorea, vel hujusmodi: nec ad hoc apparet aliquis testis qui deponere possit de visu vel etiam de auditu. Secundum est si ecclesia exusta fuit ita quod parietes sint combusti et disrupti, vel notabiliter etiam decrustati seu devastati, in toto vel in majori parte. Secus si totum tectum exustum fuerit. Tertius est si ecclesia funditus sit dirupta et deinde ex toto reparata: sive ex eisdem lapidibus sive ex aliis. Si vero non simul sed successive omnes parietes ruerent, vel dirimerentur, et etiam non simul sed successive et particulatim reparati sive renovati essent: non esset de novo consecranda ecclesia. Quia eadem ecclesia intelligitur ante reparationem et post: sed tunc debet reconciliari per aspersionem aquæ exorcisatæ.—Item si ecclesiæ consecratæ quid addatur ad longitudinem vel ad latitudinem non ideo reconsecrabitur: quia sacrum trahit ad se non sacrum. Sed sufficit si aqua exorcisata aspergatur." [35]

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eo consecrari, per quod recipit ut sit ecclesia."

The separate consecration of altars was of late introduction; for many centuries they were held to be made sufficiently sacred by the contact of the Blessed Eucharist. *Thiers.* Dissert. de Altar. *cap.* 2.

[35] *Pars.* ix. *cap.* 1. F.

Bishop Gibson cites several examples of reconciliation of churches from the archiepiscopal registers in the 17th century: I

It was certainly allowed, according to the use of some churches, that a priest might perform this office of reconciliation: but I think it probable that in the later centuries, at least, the English church observed the more general rule, which restricted it to the bishop of the diocese, or to another bishop with his license. The office itself, as the reader will observe, supposes the presence of the bishop, equally as in the solemnity of a consecration: nor is it likely that the express decision of Gregory IX., in the 13th century, would have been disregarded: "Aqua per episcopum benedicta ecclesiam reconciliari posse per alium episcopum non negamus; per sacerdotes simplices hoc fieri de cætero prohibemus:—quia licet episcopus committere valeat, quæ jurisdictionis existunt, quæ ordinis tamen episcopalis sunt, non potest inferioris gradus clericis demandare."[36]

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quote the following which he gives, of reconsecration, in the time of archbishop Abbot. "When the church of Southmalling had not only been polluted (*per bestias et animalia diversorum generum, aliisque modis profanata*) but was also new-built, and then used for divine offices without new consecration; archbishop Abbot interdicted the minister, churchwardens, and parishioners, *ab ingressu ecclesiæ—donec ecclesia præfata, et cæmeterium ejusdem, per nos, aut alium auctoritate nostra munitum, canonice et legitime consecrata fuerint: prout jura et sanctiones ecclesiæ in ea parte editæ postulant.*" Codex juris Ecc. *p.* 190.

[36] *In cap. ix., x, de consecrat. ecclesiæ.* Cf. Castaldus. *Praxis Cærem.* Lib. 2. §. xi. The Pupilla in the extract above, does not appear to make any distinction between the "aqua benedicta" to be used for this, or any other ceremony. But from what Van Espen says, in the place cited before, §. xx, this ought to have been "aqua consecrata:" that is, by a bishop, and mixed with ashes: a view which is borne out by the rubric of the office below.

To what extent priests might confer benedictions, has been already discussed in a previous dis-

The offices of benediction of a processional or military banner, and of an episcopal seal will sufficiently explain themselves. The practice of consecrating military standards is very ancient: Charles Martel is said to have received one, consecrated and sent to him by pope Gregory III. William the conqueror, says Ingulph, "præpropera [f. proposita] querela papam consuluit, et ab eo animatus etiam vexillum legitimæ victoriæ pro munere accepit."[37] The prior of Hexham, in his history of the battle of the Standard, in 1135, not only relates how the holy banner of S. Peter was delivered to the barons by the archbishop of York, but also as follows: "Mox autem aliqui eorum in medio cujusdam machinæ quam ibi adduxerant, unius navis malum erexerunt, quod *Standard* appellaverunt: unde Hugo Eborac. archidiaconus:

'Dicitur a stando standardum, quod stetit illic
Militiæ probitas vincere sive mori.'

In summitate vero ipsius arboris quandam argenteam pixidem cum corpore Christi, et sanctorum Petri apos-

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sertation: (*vol.* 1. *p.* ccl. *etc.*) and I think it of sufficient interest to add the following passage from Catalani, in which the opinions of the later canonists are briefly summed up. "Ratio differentiæ cur episcopus possit inferiori presbytero, ea quæ sunt jurisdictionis committere, non vero ea quæ sunt ordinis, illa est: quia ea quæ sunt jurisdictionis non ita hærent personæ episcopi, ut ea quæ sunt ordinis, quæ episcopus in consecratione assequitur; quæque ita episcopi propria sunt, ut ab eo cedi non possint alii quam episcopo; coepiscopoque cedantur, non ut alii, sed ut alteri ipsimet propter vinculum et necessitudinem sacerdotii, quæ episcopos omnes velut unum habet, omnesque ecclesias velut unam colligit." *In Pontif. Rom. tom.* 11. *p.* 229. Compare Lyndwood. *lib.* 2. *tit.* 1. Excussis. *verb.* commissarii.

[37] Hist. *p.* 69. *Script. Anglic. tom.* 1.

toli, et Joannis Beverlacensis, et Wilfridi Ripensis confessorum ac pontificum vexilla suspenderunt."[38]

Form of Degradation.

The antiquity of the punishment of Degradation, the order of which is edited in the present volume, is so well known to every reader of ecclesiastical history, that I need not delay upon it. The Apostolical canons, and those of Nice, of S. Basil, and of Peter of Alexandria, all prove the universality of the practice: and although the severity of it differed at various times and in various churches, some degrading altogether, some only from a higher to a lower order, yet as a mode of punishment, it seems everywhere and at all times to have been acknowledged and inflicted.[39]

Both theologians and canonists not unfrequently confound deposition, and degradation: and indeed in one sense, perhaps the most ancient one, they may be regarded as the same; but strictly, in later practice, there was a difference between the two. Simple deposition prohibited a clerk either from exercising the powers of his order, or any ecclesiastical office; or from receiving the revenues of his benefice: but it did not remove him from the spiritual and subject him to

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[38] Ricardus Hagulstald. de gestis R. Stephani. *script.* x. *tom.* 1. *p.* 322.

[39] A good general account may be found in Bingham, *Antiquities*, *Book* vi. *cap.* 2. But the student will do well to consult Martene, *de ant. ecc. rit.* 2. p. 317, and to examine the canonists, especially Van Espen, *Jus Eccles.* *par.* 3. *tit.* xj., and the notes of Balsamon and Zonaras, *Bevereg.* *Pandect.*, upon the conflicting canons of Nice and Chalcedon: the latter of which would not permit the more modified form of degradation, from a higher order to a lower.

lay jurisdiction. On the contrary, degradation included the infliction of all the penalties which accompanied deposition, and committed the offender also to the power of the temporal courts; depriving him of all the privileges and immunities attached to the clergy.

The settled form as it is below, was but of late introduction: and we have no records in the earliest pontificals which are extant, of the manner in which, very anciently, this solemnity was performed: still, it is scarcely probable, that no form or order was observed. I quote the following from Catalani. "Consuevisse depositionis sententiam calamo Christi sanguine intincto desumpto è sacro calice scribi, duo extant insignia exempla apud scriptores ecclesiasticos. Alterum refert Theophanes, ubi ait, Theodorum papam eo ritu sententiam depositionis contra Pyrrhum scripsisse: alterum narrat Nicetas in vita S. Ignatii patriarchæ Constantinopolitani, ubi depositionem Photii describit."[40]

I shall therefore, to be as brief as possible, confine myself to one or two illustrations of this office, relating to the English church. Upon the necessity of a certain number of bishops to be present on the occasion, we have in Wilkins a bull directed to cardinal Wolsey, dispensing with it; and that, on account of the difficulty of collecting the proper number, he might authorize one bishop to degrade criminous priests, "adjunctis secum seu sibi assistentibus duobus abbatibus, seu dignitates seculares in cathedralibus seu collegiatis ecclesiis obtinentibus."[41] In the same collec-

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[40] Comment. in. pontif. Rom. *tom.* 3. *p.* 138.

[41] Concil. *tom.* 3. *p.* 713. By the "Reformatio legum," the bi-

tion, is the full order, as it was to be observed at the degradation of archbishop Cranmer: ending with the usual formula, upon delivery to the civil power, "Domine judex, rogamus vos cum omni affectu, quo possumus, ut amore Dei, pietatis et misericordiæ intuitu, et nostrorum interventu precaminum, miserrimo huic nullum mortis, vel mutilationis periculum inferas."[42] I must say, that notwithstanding the construction which is justly and properly to be put upon this clause in many cases, evidencing the fulness of mercy and pity which befits the Church of Christ, yet in the instance of archbishop Cranmer, and many others in that day, it was nothing but a bitter and disgraceful mockery. The ministers and rulers of the Church, could not canonically themselves inflict the punishment of death; but they knew well, what would be the sure effect of their delivering up of men, whom they had condemned as heretics, to the civil power. They were delivered, not to be forgiven, not even to be mercifully dealt with, but to receive at the hands of others a most sure and barbarous punishment. We can look upon such a recommendation, in no other light than we would now regard the conduct of a judge, who, having

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shop of the diocese might alone, with two priests, deprive or degrade. "Quando cuiquam vel diripi dignitas, vel eripi beneficium ecclesiasticum formula deprivationis debet, principio proprius illum episcopus ad se rite evocet: deinde ad reliquum omne negotium pertractandum episcopus adsit, et duos ad se doctos et integros presbyteros asciscat, quorum authoritate et decreto stari placet." *De depriv. cap.* 3. The maxim upon which the ancient rule was founded, was: "Spiritualia facilius construuntur, quam destruuntur; quia solus episcopus dat ordinem, quem solus tollere non potest." Gibson. *Codex. p.* 1068.

[42] *Ibid. tom.* 4. *p.* 136.

passed sentence, should render the criminal into the hands of the executioner, and with every outward sign of solemn supplication, entreat that that sentence might not take effect, which he had himself decreed. Let the reader examine a writ "de hæreticis comburendis," how it speaks of the church having done all that was in her power: and therefore "quod sancta mater ecclesia non habet ulterius,—tibi præcipimus firmiter injungentes, quod præfatos, *etc.*, statim post receptionem præsentium apud villam nostram de B.—— coram populo igni committi, et in eodem igne realiter comburi facias, in hujusmodi criminis detestationem, aliorumque christianorum exemplum manifestum." Or again, let him remember that about the year 1521, among a number of doctrines condemned as heretical and pestiferous, was this: "Hæreticos comburi est contra voluntatem Spiritus."[43]

In the chronicle of John, abbot of Peterborough, we have the following cases under the year 1222: he is speaking of the famous council at Oxford; "In concilio illo sacerdos quidam et diaconus sunt degradati a domino Cantuariensi archiepiscopo: sacerdos pro homicidio, diaconus pro sacrilegio et furto. Diaconus alius, qui ad Judaismum a fide apostataverat, et se fecerat circumcidi, extra ecclesiam degradatus fuit a domino Cantuar. coram populo, et post degradationem traditus judicio laicalis curiæ, igne comburitur. In degradando, cum archiepiscopus casulam, vel stolam,

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[43] *Ibid. tom.* 3. *p.* 693. Besides the authorities above named, I would recommend the reader to refer also to Alberti, *de sacr. utens.* c. xvj. 2. Ferraris, Bibl. *verb.* Degradatio. Benedict xiv. *de Synodo. lib.* vij. Hostiensis, *in Summa. lib.* 5. *rubr.* 7. and to the later canonists, Bonacina, Devoti, &c.

vel aliud quid baculi pastoralis extremitate sullevando amoveret, hiis terminis usus est: Exautoramus te."[44] From an instance related of the deposition of an abbot of Westminster, by Matthew Paris, we may conclude, that in such cases, the breaking of his official seal formed a part of the solemnity. "Illis diebus per prædictum legatum depositus est Radulphus abbas Westm. per .*N*. abbatem de Wastham, missum ex parte legati, fracto ipsius sigillo in capitulo."[45]

As to restitution, after deposition or degradation, Martene in the place above cited, quotes a canon of the 4th council of Toledo: "Episcopus, presbyter, aut diaconus, si a gradu suo injuste dejectus in secunda synodo innocens reperiatur, non potest esse quod fuerat, nisi gradus amissos recipiat coram altario, de manu episcopi orarium, annulum, et baculum; si presbyter, orarium et planetam; si diaconus, orarium et albam; si subdiaconus, patenam et calicem. Sic et reliqui gradus ea in reparationem sui recipiant, quæ cum ordinarentur perceperunt."

Form of Healing, etc.

The remaining offices which are given in this volume, are, the Form of "bidding the bedes," as it was observed in the cathedral church of Salisbury; the Form

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[44] *Edit.* Sparkes. *p.* 100. Two other examples of impiety were brought forward on the same occasion, which I quote, on account of the punishment which was inflicted. "Ductus est etiam in concilio laicus quidam, qui se promiserat crucifigi, *etc.* Adducta est etiam quædam mulier, quæ se Mariam nominabat, et dixerat, quod missam poterat celebrare, ad quod calicem et patenam habebat: hii duo in muris lapideis inclusi, vitam terminarunt, non cum Domino resurgentes."

[45] *Hist. Angl. p.* 210. A. D. 1214.

of Healing; the Form of Consecrating Cramp-rings; and some English Forms of Exhortation before communion, and at the visitation of the sick. These will require only a few brief remarks.

As regards the "Forms of bidding prayer," I would refer the reader to a little volume, published in Oxford a few years ago, under that title, in which he will find a large collection of them, of various dates, from the 14th century down to the present time. These have been obtained, by much research, from very curious sources; and an useful introduction is prefixed by the editor, the Rev. H. O. Coxe. The Form which I have now printed is not only different from any hitherto published, but it is especially valuable and important, as being that which was used in the cathedral itself of the diocese of Sarum. I have thought it right to retain some of the names, of bishops and others, which add a further interest to the form, and serve to identify it.

The form of Healing is the Latin form, with an English title, and English rubrics, published "by his majesty's command," in 1686. It is stated to be that which was "used in the time of King Henry VII." I am not aware that it has since that reign been printed, nor do I know any edition except the one now lying before me, in 4to. The form entirely in English, prayers as well as rubrics, occurs often in the Common Prayer books of the reigns of Charles I. and II., James II., and queen Anne: it was also printed separately, in 12mo., in the reign of James II. These English forms all vary: and a new one appears to have been drawn up for each sovereign. Bishop Sparrow reprinted that of the reign of Charles II.[46]

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[46] Collection of Articles, *etc.* *p.* 165.

The office of Blessing Cramp-rings is printed from a manuscript in my possession, of about the year 1685, bound up with an edition in 12mo. of the form of healing. I am not aware of any other copy existing of this office, in English, and it seemed therefore desirable to preserve the record of so curious a ceremony. The Latin form as drawn up for queen Mary, in 1554, is printed by Burnet,[47] and by Wilkins.[48]

On the flyleaf of the volume of which I have spoken is the following memorandum. "In ancient times it was a custom with the kings of England on Good Friday, to hallow, with great ceremony, certain rings, the wearing of which was believed to prevent the falling sickness. These rings were called cramp-rings, and the MS. in this volume is the service dedicated to their consecration. In Borde's Breviarie of health [1547], speaking of the cramp, we are told that "the kynge's maiestie hath a greate helpe in the matter, in halowing cramp-rings, and so given without money or petition.' Lord Berners, the translator of Froissart, when ambassador to the emperor Charles V. wrote from Saragossa "to my lorde cardinall's grace," in 1518, for some "crampe rynges, with trust to bestowe theyme well, with God's grace."

In the appendix to the very valuable collection of Accounts of Churchwardens, *etc.*, printed in the year 1797, is a list of the New-years gifts presented by queen Mary in 1556: among which we find; "Item, deliuerid by the Queins commandement—to the said Robert Raynes, in broken golde, to make crampe rings: *etc.* Item, more deliuerid the same time, to

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[47] Hist. Reform. Records, *Part.* 2. B. ij. No. 25.

[48] Concil. *tom.* 4. *p.* 103.

make cramp ringes, in broke plate of silu' theise parcelles, *etc.*"[49]

I have only now to add, that all the offices in this volume, except where otherwise stated in the notes below, are edited from the same manuscript, a Pontifical of the Use of Sarum, described in the first volume of this work (p. cxviij) and from which several of the Offices in that volume, have also been taken. (See p. ccxcvij.)[50]

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[49] *p.* 27. It is much to be regretted that this excellent work is most difficult to be met with, for there are few books which more correctly answer to the profession of their title-pages. The title is "Illustrations of the manners and expences of antient times in England, in the 15th, 16th, and 17th centuries, deduced from the accompts of churchwardens and other authentic documents. London, 1797." 4to. The whole impression, except about eight or ten copies, is said to have been destroyed by fire. Nicholls, the compiler, speaks thus of it himself; "I have no hesitation in saying, in a case where it can neither promote my interest, nor hazard my veracity, that this volume is not only one of the scarcest publications of the eighteenth century, but, in its way, is also one of the most curious." *Literary anecdotes. vol.* ix. *p.* 196. Copies are in the Bodleian and Museum libraries.

In the accounts of the 7th year of Henry IV., occurs the following entry "Die parasceves—in denariis solutis pro eisdem oblationibus reassumptis, pro annulis medicinalibus inde faciendis. xxv. s." *cit.* Archæol. Journal. *vol.* 4. *p.* 78. Bishop Gardiner is said, in a letter to Bishop Ridley, to have spoken of such rings, as endued "by the special gift of curation ministered to the kings of this realm." *ibid. vol.* 3. p. 359.

[50] I must except also the first of the benedictions, *p.* 320: namely, of a standard: which is taken from the Evesham pontifical in the library of the British Museum. Lansdown MS. 451.

Electio et Consecratio atque Coronatio novi Regis.

Ordo Novum Regem in Regno Constituendi.[1]

CONSTITUTO *hujusmodi actionis die, summo mane dominus metropolitanus, et cæteri præsules,*[2] *cum clero in ecclesia congregentur, ut grex Christi, quid populo suo Christus inspiraverit, cum mentis devotione præstolantes.*

In curia Regis comites, proceres, cives, nobilesque cuncti conveniant, ad disponendum sagaciterque tractandum, tam de principis novi electione quam de legum atque consuetudinum regni confirmatione.

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[1] The order of the Coronation of K. Ethelred, A. D. 978, preserved in the British Museum, Cotton MS. Claudius, A. iij., has the following short rubric at the commencement.

"Incipit consecratio regis, quem de conventu seniorum per manus producant duo episcopi ad ecclesiam, et clerus hanc decantet antiphonam duobus episcopis præcinentibus. 'Firmetur.' *etc.*"

In the same volume is contained the order of the coronation of K. Henry I. This begins with the following rubric, and with it agree another MS. in the same collection, Tiberius, B. viij.; the Winchester pontifical; an imperfect Sarum MS. in the Bodleian, Rawl. C. 450; and a MS. pontifical, also imperfect, in Trinity College, Dublin. MS. B. 3. 6.

"Incipit consecratio regis. Consecrandum regem de conventu seniorum duo episcopi per manus producant ad ecclesiam, et chorus decantet antiphonam: 'Firmetur' *etc.*"

The order for Edwd. II. (Bodl. MS. Rawl. C. 425.) has a longer rubric, viz. "Ordo novum regem in regno constituendi.

"Die quo consecrandus est novus rex, summo mane conveniant prælati et nobiles in palatio regali apud Westmonasterium, tractaturi de novi consecratione principis, et de legibus et consuetudinibus regni confirmandis, et firmiter statuendis: ita quod provideatur aliquis locus in dicto palatio, super quem hæres regis regnaturus, cum omni mansuetudine et reverentia, elevetur, ipso tamen prius, ut moris est, balneato, et induto mundissimis

Quibus consentientibus, et id idem in omnibus consona voce acclamantibus, cum omni mansuetudine ac reveren-

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vestibus, et caligis tantummodo calciato. His peractis, ordinetur in ecclesia per archiepiscopos, episcopos, abbatem, et conventum Westmonasterii, et alios, processio in cappis sericis, cum textis, et thuribulis, et aliis quæ processioni conveniunt. Et sic induti processionaliter regi futuro occurrant in palatio antedicto, et sic ipsum processive in ecclesiam ducant, ipsoque introducto atque in pulpito in sede sibi apta collocato, hæc antiphona ab omnibus decantetur: 'Firmetur.' *etc.*"

With this agrees the Exeter pontifical: except in its title; which is somewhat singular. "*Coronatio regis secundum consuetudinem ecclesiæ Westmonasteriensis.*"

And an imperfect English pontifical in the British Museum, *Harleian MS.* 561, begins with a still more particular reference to the Westminster muniments. "*Hic est ordo secundum quem rex debet coronari, pariter et inungi, secundum cronicas et registra in abbathia Westmonasterii inventa.*"

I have no doubt that the "textus" spoken of above, was some splendid copy of the Four Gospels, or of the selected Gospels, which was specially preserved at Westminster to be used either on this great occasion only of a coronation, or at other very solemn processions. Or possibly, it was the copy of the Gospels, upon which the coronation-oath was to be taken. I have made some remarks upon this, in the preliminary dissertation: and I would also refer the reader to the dissertation on Service Books, Vol. I. p. lij., and to the extract from Giraldus, in the "Supplement" to p. lvij.

[2] The custom of assembling the archbishops and bishops of the realm is as ancient as the office itself of a Coronation: it has been always held to be necessary not only that the new sovereign should be crowned by the Primate, or a Bishop appointed by him, but also with as large an attendance of the clergy, more especially of the highest degree, as could be obtained. Peter Damian proves that this was not confined to England only: he says, in a passage of his lxixth Sermon, cited by Catalani: "Cum enim tantæ nobilitatis sanguis vel genere, vel nobilitate consecratur in regem, religio cum nobilitate totius regni viribus convocatur. Astat hinc primatum, metropolitanorum, et episcoporum gloriosa societas: illinc ducum, comitum, castellanorum, non spernenda nobilitas. Procedit medius homo super homines regnaturus constitutus agmine personali."

tia, ut mos regni exigit, exaltent illum, eoque exaltato et in sede principi apta locato, in ecclesia metropolitano et cætero clero cum summa tranquillitate sedenti, per quatuor nobiliores comites nuncietur, faciantque iidem legati coram clero post electionis repræsentationem, ex parte populi cum supplicatione petitionem, ut sicut ab omni populo electus est, ita et in ecclesia a clero benigne suscipiatur,[3] *et in regem consecretur. Quorum legatione patienter audita, metropolitanus quatuor quos elegerit præsules, totidemque abbates, dirigat ad populum, inquirens quæ a quatuor nunciis audivit, si populus testari voluerit. Et illis regressis, si concors fuerit priorum nunciorum vox sequentium, tunc demum, metropolitano inchoante, clerus Deo gratias et laudes referat.*

Moxque missi duo præsules a metropolitano cum parte cleri, cum cereis et crucibus, introducant in ecclesiam consecrandum regem electum, cum vocis emissione, hanc concinentes antiphonam:

Firmetur manus tua, et exaltetur dextera tua; justitia et judicium præparatio sedis tuæ, misericordia et veritas præcedent faciem tuam.[4]

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[3] "recipiatur," in the Evesham pontifical. *Lansd. MS.* 451.

[4] The order for K. Ethelred, after the antiphon, and "Gloria Patri," thus continues:

"*Perveniens rex ad ecclesiam, prosternat se coram altare, et hymnizetur,* Te Deum laudamus, Te Dominum confitemur. *Quo finitenus hymnizato, rex erigatur de solo, et ab episcopis et a plebe electus, hæc tria se servaturum jura promittat, et clara voce coram Deo, omnique populo, dicit:*

"Hæc tria populo Christiano, et mihi subdito in Christi promitto nomine. In primis ut ecclesia Dei, et omnis populus Christianus veram pacem nostro arbitrio in omni tempore servet. Aliud, ut rapacitates et omnes iniquitates omnibus gradibus interdicam. Tertium, ut in omnibus judiciis æquitatem et misericordiam præcipiam, ut mihi et vobis indulgeat

In tempore Paschali. Alleluia.
Ps. Misericordias Domini.

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suam misericordiam clemens et misericors Deus, qui vivit.

"*His peractis, omnes dicant,* Amen. *Et hæ sequantur orationes a singulis episcopis singulæ super regem dicendæ.* Te invocamus, *etc.*

"*Alia oratio.* Deus, qui populis tuis virtute consulis, et amore dominaris, da huic famulo tuo *ill.* spiritum sapientiæ cum regimine disciplinæ, ut tibi toto corde devotus in regni regimine maneat semper idoneus, tuoque munere ipsius temporibus securitas ecclesiæ dirigatur, et in tranquillitate devotio Christiana permaneat, ut in bonis operibus perseverans, ad æternum regnum te duce valeat pervenire, per Dominum.

"*Consecratio regis ab episcopo qui arcem tenuerit super eum dicenda.*

"Omnipotens sempiterne Deus," *etc.*, as below, with some important differences, noted there.

In the order for K. Henry I., after the antiphon, we have:

"*Perveniens ad ecclesiam prosternat se super pavimentum ante altare. Pavimentum autem stratum sit tapetibus et palliis. Finita antiphona fiat litania, et episcopi prosternant se supra pavimentum hinc et inde circa electum regem. Expleta autem litania erigant se. Erectus autem ab episcopis electus rex, hæc tria serviturum se esse promittat, dicens:*

"In Christi nomine promitto hæc tria populo Christiano mihi subdito. In primis me præcepturum et opem pro viribus impensurum, ut ecclesia Dei, *etc.* [*ut supra, in ord.* Ethelr.] *Et respondeant omnes,* Amen. *His expletis, unus episcoporum alloquatur populum, si tali principi ac rectori se subjicere, ac jussionibus ejus obtemperare velint. Tunc a circumstante clero et populo respondeatur:* Volumus et concedimus. *Postea vero eo devote inclinato, dicantur a metropolitano sequentes orationes.*

"Omnipotens æterne Deus, creator omnium, *etc.*

"Benedic, Domine, hunc regem, *etc.*

"Deus ineffabilis, auctor, *etc.*

"*Tunc demum ab ipso metropolitano unguantur sibi manus de oleo sanctificato.*

"Unguantur manus istæ. *etc.*"

This order is the same, (as before mentioned,) in the Winchester pontifical; the imperfect Bodley MS.; the two Cotton MSS. Tiberius. B. 8, and E. 8; and the Dublin MS. B. 3. 6.

The order for Edward II., followed by the Exeter MS., after the Antiphon, continues:

Gloria Patri.

Repetatur antiphona. Firmetur.

Appropinquans vero Rex altari, ejus imitando imperium qui dixit, Non appareas vacuus in conspectu Domini, Dei tui, *pretioso tegat pallio,*[5] *libramque auri integram Deo, Sanctoque Petro apostolorum principi, princeps ipse consecrandus desuper ponendo offerat. Continuoque*[6] *super pavimentum tapetis stratum coram altari se prosternat, dicatque super illum metropolitanus hanc orationem.*

Oremus.

Deus humilium visitator, qui nos Sancti Spiritus illustratione consolaris, prætende super hunc famulum tuum *N.* gratiam tuam, ut per eum, tuum in nobis adesse sentiamus adventum. Per Dominum: in unitate ejusdem.

Oratione[7] *completa, injungat metropolitanus cui voluerit pontificum, plebi de præsenti negotio congruum breviter dicere sermonem, sciscitarique*[8] *ab eis ut palam*

" Gloria Patri. Sicut erat. Evovæ. Firmetur. *Postea revestiatur archiepiscopus vel episcopus qui missam celebraturus est, et cum aliis prælatis principem consecrandum honorifice per chori medium ducat usque ad magnum altare, super quod tenetur offerre pallium unum, et unam libram auri, ejus complendo præceptum qui dixit, 'Non appareas vacuus coram oculis Domini Dei tui.' Continuoque super pavimentum,"* etc., as in the text, with some unimportant variations: the chief of which the reader will find below.

[5] " Oblatio regis." Marginal note in Pontif. Sar.

[6] " Prostratio regis prima." Marginal note in Pontif. Sar.

[7] The Royal MS. 12. D. iij. (British Museum) has by an evident mistake " *Coronatione completa.*"

[8] The following sentence " sciscitarique ——,,—— interrogati" is omitted in the order for K. Edward II., and added in the margin in a later hand. The Sarum Pontifical notes in the margin " brevis sermo."

The Liber Regalis omits the sentence " sciscitarique —— in-

dicant si hunc cuncti sibi in regem eligunt, et ut illis rex consecretur si veraciter et unanimiter poscunt. Quod postquam se velle acclamaverint interrogati, metropolitanus electum mediocriter distinctaque interroget voce,[9] *si leges et consuetudines ab antiquis justis et devotis regibus plebi Anglorum concessas, cum sacramenti confirmatione, eidem plebi concedere et servare voluerit, et præsertim leges et consuetudines et libertates, a gloriosissimo*[10] *rege sancto Edwardo, clero populoque concessas. Si*[11] *autem omnibus his assentire se velle promiserit, exponat ei metropolitanus de quibus jurabit, ita dicendo:*

Servabis ecclesiæ Dei cleroque, et populo, pacem ex integro et concordiam Deo, secundum vires tuas?

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terrogati," and inserts instead of it, the following, which is introduced as far as the word "sermone," into the margin of the Sarum pontifical, and the sentence as it stands in the text above, is bracketed. "Metropolitano interim in cathedra sua residente ante altare more episcopali. Coram ipso residebit princeps coronandus in cathedra decenti sibi præparata ex adverso. Finito quidem sermone ad plebem, metropolitanus vel episcopus eundem mediocri distinctaque voce interroget, si leges et consuetudines. *etc.*"

[9] "Sessio regis." Marginal note. *Sar. Pontif.* I may remind the reader that the Roman pontifical appoints here a set sermon or admonition to be made, not to the people in order to ask their consent, but to the king concerning the duties of his station. "Quibus sic sedentibus, postquam aliquantulum quieverint, metropolitanus coronandum regem admonet, dicens, 'Cum hodie,' *etc.*" *Pontif. Rom.* The latter part of this admonition is similar to the "admonitio episcoporum ad regem" of the text, presently. It is probable that the rubric immediately following that admonition "*Adjiciantur prædictis*," etc., was intended to give scope for a more exact imitation of the Roman use, if it was thought desirable.

[10] "Glorioso." *Liber Regalis:* and the order of Edward II.

[11] "Dicto autem principe se promittente omnia præmissa concessurum et servaturum, tunc exponat ei metropolitanus, *etc.*" *Lib. Reg.*

Respondebit:

Servabo.[12]

Facies fieri in omnibus judiciis tuis æquam et rectam justitiam, et discretionem, in misericordia et in veritate, secundum vires tuas?

Respondebit:

Faciam.

Concedis justas leges esse tenendas, et promittis eas per te esse protegendas, et ad honorem Dei roborandas, quas vulgus elegerit, secundum vires tuas?

Respondebit:

Concedo, et promitto.

Sequitur admonitio episcoporum ad regem, et legatur ab uno episcopo coram omnibus clara voce, sic dicendo:

Domine Rex,[13] a vobis perdonari petimus, ut unicuique de nobis et ecclesiis nobis commissis, canonicum

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[12] The Exeter Pontifical, very strangely, omits from hence down to the rubric "*Adjiciantur prædictis interrogationibus,*" etc.

[13] This petition has been omitted in the late Forms. It was observed in the coronation of King James I. (of Charles I. according to the very obscure and confused account in Prynne, *Signal Loyalty, p.* 270) and of Charles II. I extract the form from the last mentioned Order, as it is given by Walker. "After which [i. e. the promises] the Bp. of Rochester read the Petition of the Bishops in these words.

"Our Lord and King wee beseech you to grant and preserve vnto vs, and the Churches Cōmitted to our Charge all Canonicall priviledges, and due Law and Iustice, and that you would protect and defend vs as every good King in his Kingdome ought to be a Protector and Defender of the Bishopps and Churches vnder their Government.

"The King Answered:

"With a willing and devout heart I promise and grant my pardon, and that I will preserve and mayneteyne to you, and the Churches cōmitted to yor. Charge all Canonicall Priviledges and due Law and Iustice, and that I will be yor. Protectour and Defender to my power by the assistance of God as every good King in his Kingdome ought in right to pro-

privilegium ac debitam legem atque justitiam conservetis, et defensionem exhibeatis, sicut rex in suo regno debet unicuique episcopo, abbatibus,[14] et ecclesiis sibi commissis.

Respondebit:

Animo libenti, et devoto, promitto vobis et perdono, quia unicuique de vobis et ecclesiis vobis commissis, canonicum privilegium et debitam legem atque justitiam servabo, et defensionem quantum potuero, adju-

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tect and defend the Bps. and Churches under their Government."

This petition does not occur in the earlier Forms of K. Ethelred, Henry I. and Edward II.

I extract the following from the important "Devyse" for K. Henry VIII. so often alluded to in the dissertation. "Then foloweth the peticions of the bisshoppes to the kyng, which by the bisshop of Lincoln shall be openly redde in good and distinct voice, seying: *Domine rex.* Sir King, we aske of you to perfitely geven and graunted vnto vs, that ye shall kepe vnto vs and eche of vs, and to all the churches that beth geven and comytted vnto vs and eche of vs, the priuileges of the lawe canon and of hooly church, and due lawe and rightfulnesse, and vs and them defende as a doughty and Christen King ought to do. And in like wise to graunte and do thurgh all your Reame to euery bishop, abbot, and all the churches to them commytted.

"The kyng shall aunswer. *Libente animo.* With good will and deuoute soule, I promytte and perfitely graunte that to you and euery of you, and to all the churches to you commytted, I shall kepe the priuileges of the lawe of canon and of holy Church: and lawe and rightfulness: and I shall in as moche as may be, by reason and right defende you and euery of you bisshoppes and abbotts thurgh my Reame: and all the churches to you and them commytted. All these things and euery of theym, I Henry king of Englande, promytte and conferme to kepe and obserue, so helpe me God, and thise holy Euangelists by me bodily touched upon this hooly awter."

[14] This word is erased in the text of the Sarum pontifical, doubtless after the suppression of the monasteries, and inserted in the margin in a hand of the time of Queen Mary. The same erasure occurs almost immediately below.

vante Domino, exhibebo, sicut rex in suo regno unicuique episcopo, abbatibus, et ecclesiis sibi commissis, per rectum exhibere debet.[15]

Adjiciantur prædictis interrogationibus quæ justa fuerint. Prænunciatis omnibus supradictis, dictus princeps confirmet se omnia prædicta esse servaturum, sacramento[16] super altare coram cunctis protinus præstito. His itaque peractis, metropolitanus vel episcopus genuflectendo cum devotione incipiat excelsa voce hymnum,

Veni Creator,

dicto rege[17] interim ante altare supertapetis et quissinis, per regios ministros decenter ibidem collocatis, humiliter prostrato.

Finito vero hymno, sequatur hæc oratio:

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[15] In the modern Roman pontifical, among the other duties explained to the new sovereign in the "admonition" before spoken of, note 9, is this: "Christianam religionem, ac fidem catholicam, quam ab incunabulis professus es, ad finem usque inviolatam retinebis, eamque contra omnes adversantes pro viribus defendes." And how ancient this practice was, may be concluded from the iijrd. canon of the sixth council of Toledo. "Quisquis succedentium temporum regni sortitus fuerit apicem, non ante conscendat regiam sedem, quam inter reliqua conditionum sacramenta pollicitus fuerit, hanc se catholicam non permissurum eos (*nempe Judæos*) violare fidem. *etc.*" And it thus concludes. "Ergo postquam ordine præmisso, ad gubernacula accesserit regni, si ipse temerator hujus extiterit promissi, sit anathema, maranatha, in conspectu sempiterni Dei, et pabulum efficiatur ignis æterni."

There is certainly no express stipulation to this effect in the ancient English forms; nor is there in the modern Roman use: although Catalani (who quotes also the above canon), rather hastily, as it seems to me, concludes that it is to be gathered from the promise of the new sovereign, in the "professio regis" which immediately succeeds, and which is couched in very general terms. Cf. Comment. in Pontif. Rom. *tom.* i. 378.

[16] "Juramentum regis." Marginal note in *Sar. Pontif.*

[17] "Prostratio regis secunda." *Marginal note.*

Te invocamus, Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, æterne Deus, ut hunc famulum tuum. *N.* quem tuæ divinæ dispensationis providentia in primordio plasmatum, usque hunc præsentem diem juvenili flore lætantem crescere concessisti, eum tuæ pietatis dono ditatum plenumque gratia et veritate, de die in diem, coram Deo et hominibus, ad meliora semper proficere facias, ut summi regiminis solium, gratiæ supernæ largitate, gaudens suscipiat, et misericordiæ tuæ muro ab hostium adversitate undique munitus, plebem sibi commissam, cum pace propitiationis et virtute victoriæ, feliciter regere mereatur. Per Christum Dominum.

Post orationem[18] *incipiant duo episcopi vel duo cantores litaniam,*[19] *metropolitano vel episcopo et cæteris episcopis cum eo prostratis, et septem psalmos pœnitentiales ex corde cantantibus: infra litaniam hæc adjungant:*

Ut præsentem famulum tuum in tua pietate, justitia, et sanctitate, confirmare et conservare digneris.

Te rogamus audi nos.

Postea sequantur hæ orationes.

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[18] "Litania cum septem psalmis." *Marginal note.*

[19] The position of the litany in this Office has differed much, at various times and in various countries. But the antiquity of its use at some period or other of the ceremony is proved by the very ancient *Ordo Romanus*, which commands: "ut cuncto ecclesiæ pavimento tapetibus et palliolis contecto, ibi rex humiliter totus in cruce prostratus jaceat cum episcopis, et presbyteris, hinc inde prostratis, cæteris in choro litaniam breviter psallentibus." The "breviter" refers to the restriction which is afterwards enjoined, that only twelve Apostles, and as many martyrs, confessors, and virgins, should be invocated. The phrase "totus in cruce" would appear to mean, with arms extended. The student will observe that in the text, only the bishops are directed to prostrate themselves with the king.

Dominus vobiscum.

Oratio.

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, Creator omnium, Imperator angelorum, Rex regnantium, Dominusque dominantium, qui Abraham fidelem famulum tuum de hostibus triumphare fecisti, Moysi et Josuæ populo prælatis multiplicem victoriam tribuisti, humilemque David puerum tuum regni fastigio sublimasti, et Salomonem sapientiæ pacisque ineffabili munere ditasti; respice, quæsumus,[20] ad preces humilitatis nostræ, et super hunc famulum tuum, quem supplici devotione in regem consecramus,[21] benedictionum tuarum dona multiplica, eumque dexteræ tuæ potentia semper et ubique circumda, quatenus prædicti Abrahæ fidelitate firmatus, Moysi mansuetudine fretus, Josuæ fortitudine munitus, David humilitate exaltatus, Salomonis sapientia decoratus, tibi in omnibus placeat, et per tramitem justitiæ inoffenso gressu semper incedat, ecclesiamque[22] tuam deinceps cum plebibus sibi annexis ita enutriat ac doceat, muniat et instruat, contra omnes visibiles et invisibiles hostes idem potenter regaliterque tuæ vir-

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20 "Respice propitius." Order of K. Ethelred.

21 In the earlier orders of K. Ethelred, Henry I. and Edward II. (followed by the Exeter MS.) the form runs, "quem——in regem eligimus." The alteration is curious.

22 "Hic totius regni Anglo-Saxonum ecclesiam deinceps cum plebibus sibi annexis, *etc.*" *Order of Ethelred.* The reader will find that in the modern Roman Use, from hence to the words "tuæ quoque protectionis" is omitted. The prayer is very ancient: not only to be traced to the earliest MS. which we now have of the Anglo-Saxon ceremonial, but it is also in the old "Ordo Romanus." I may add, that in some early foreign pontificals, this prayer is to be said aloud by the archbishop, and "voce submissa" by the other bishops: "ad tollendam scilicet confusionem (observes Catalani), non vero quod in ea vocis submissione aliquid arcani mysteriive contineatur."

tutis regimen administret,[23] et ad veræ fidei pacisque concordiam eorum animos, te opitulante, reformet, ut

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[23] "administret, ut regale solium, videlicet Anglorum vel Saxonum sceptro, non deserat, sed ad pristinæ fidei, pacisque, *etc.*" *ibid.* This passage is remarkable: and it is a very curious circumstance, that the famous manuscript, (now in the British Museum, Cotton, Tiberius B. viij.) of the coronation service of Charles V. of France, contains the same sentence, with not a less plain reference to the Anglo-Saxons. The words are these: "ut regale solium videlicet Saxonum, Merciorum, Nordanchimbrorum sceptra non deserat." This fact has been remarked by Selden in his Titles of Honour, *p.* 177. 189. and he argues very justly that the French Order owes its origin to the more ancient Forms used in this country. It nevertheless is somewhat more than strange, that they who adopted and revised to suit their own circumstances our English Office, should have omitted to correct this passage in the prayer. The numberless instances of agreement, even verbal, which occur between the ancient English forms and the French, would have proved a common origin: such an argument as the present proves more; viz. this: England can claim the honour of having given her Order of Coronation to the kings and people of France.

In the Appendix to the sacramentary of S. Gregory (*Opera, tom.* 3. *p.* 258,) Menard has printed the "Ritus olim observatus in unctione regum Francorum: *ex codice Ratoldi Abbatis.*" In that Order, this prayer occurs; and after the words "semper incedat" above, is the following, not less worthy of notice than the corresponding reference in the Service of Charles V. "—— incedat, et totius Albionis ecclesiam deinceps cum plebibus sibi annexis, *etc.*" The reader will at once see, that the argument in the preceding paragraph of this note is strongly confirmed by this reference to England: but it would not be just to omit Menard's own remarks upon it. Probably he was not aware of the existence of the Cotton MS. or he would have argued doubtless that Charles V. was also crowned King of England; as indeed, he does seem to pretend with respect to Henry IV. if I understand him rightly: even although, as he quaintly says, he could discover no record of the original fact extant. He says, "Quæ quidem verba (*Albionis ecclesiam*) satis manifestant aliquem Francorum regem id temporis in Anglorum regem unctum fuisse: quod tamen est difficile scitu, cum nihil tale in historicis antiquis cum Francorum, tum An-

horum populorum debita subjectione fultus, tuo digno amore glorificatus,[24] ad paternum decenter solium tua miseratione conscendere mereatur, tuæ quoque protectionis galea munitus, et scuto insuperabili jugiter protectus, armisque cœlestibus circumdatus, optabilis victoriæ triumphum feliciter capiat, terroremque suæ potentiæ infidelibus inferat, et pacem tibi militantibus lætanter reportet, [25]per Dominum nostrum, qui virtute crucis tartara destruxit, regnoque diaboli superato ad

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glorum repereris, per quos huic difficultati lucem afferre quis possit. Nemini autem dubium est quin Albion, cujus hic mentio est, sit Britannia major. Id testantur veteres omnes recentioresque geographi.——Quis fuerit autem ex regibus Francorum sub hac formula in regem Anglorum unctus, dicere obscurum est. Ex hoc tamen apparet antiquum jus regibus Francorum in regnum Angliæ fuisse." And the same writer adds in a note, a suggestion in proof of his theory, which is demolished by the Order of K. Ethelred; " Forte consecratio hæc in Ludovici IV. inauguratione fuit adhibita, qui cum ob Ogivam matrem, ex Angliæ regum stirpe esset oriundus, in spem hujus regni vocatus potuit simul ungi in regem Angliæ et Franciæ. Quibus non placebit conjectura hæc, meliorem suppeditent; doceantque quis ex Galliæ regibus ante mortem Ratoldi abbatis qui ann. 986 obiit, potiore jure in regem Angliæ ungi et consecrari potuerit." This would indeed be difficult: but it is not necessary that those who are dissatisfied with the conjectures of so very learned a person as Menard, are bound to propose better.

[24] "glorificatus, per longum vitæ spatium paternæ apicem gloriæ tuæ miseratione unita, stabilire et gubernare mereatur." Order of K. Ethelred.

[25] "reportet. Virtutibus, Christe, hunc quibus præfatos fideles tuos decorasti, multiplici honoris benedictione condecora, et in regimine regni sublimiter colloca, et oleo gratiæ Spiritus Sancti perunge, per Dominum, in unitate ejusdem." *ibid.* Immediately after this prayer in K. Ethelred's Order, follows the anointing, of which the rubric, &c. is given below. It may be added that the French order of K. Charles V. (just spoken of) gives the concluding sentences of both the Anglo-Saxon and the Sarum orders: putting the Sarum last, and of course omitting the " Per Dominum" of the first.

cœlos victor ascendit, in quo potestas omnis regum consistit, et victoria, qui est gloria humilium, et vita salusque populorum. Qui tecum.

Alia oratio.

Benedic, Domine, hunc regem nostrum, qui regna omnium moderaris a sæculo, et tali eum benedictione glorifica, ut Davidicæ teneat sublimitatis sceptrum, et glorificatus in ejus, te propitio, reperiatur merito. Da ei tuo inspiramine cum mansuetudine ita regere populum, sicut Salomonem fecisti regnum obtinere pacificum. Tibi cum timore semper sit subditus, tibique militet cum quiete; sit tuo clypeo protectus cum proceribus, et ubique tua gratia victor existat; honorifica eum præ cunctis regibus gentium, felix populis dominetur, et feliciter eum nationes adorent. Vivat inter gentium catervas magnanimus, sit in judiciis æquitatis singularis, locupletet eum tua prædives dextera, frugiferam obtineat patriam, et ejus liberis tribuas profutura; præsta ei prolixitatem vitæ per tempora, ut in diebus ejus oriatur justitia; a te robustum teneat regiminis solium, et cum jocunditate et justitia æterno glorietur in regno. Per Dominum.

Deus ineffabilis, auctor mundi, conditor generis humani, gubernator imperii, confirmator regni, qui ex utero fidelis amici tui patriarchæ nostræ Abrahæ præelegisti regem sæculis profuturum, tu præsentem regem hunc cum exercitu suo per intercessionem omnium sanctorum uberi benedictione locupleta, et in solium regni firma stabilitate connecte. Visita eum, sicut Moysen in rubo, Jesum Nave in prælio, Gedeon in agro, Samuelem in templo, et illa eum benedictione siderea ac sapientiæ tuæ rore perfunde, quam beatus David in psalterio Salomon filius ejus, te remunerante, percepit e cœlo. Sis ei contra acies inimicorum lorica,

in adversis galea, in prosperis patientia, in protectione clypeus sempiternus; et præsta ut gentes illi teneant fidem, proceres sui habeant pacem, diligant caritatem, abstineant se a cupiditate, loquantur justitiam, custodiant veritatem; et ita populus iste pullulet, coalitus benedictione æternitatis, ut semper maneant tripudiantes in pace victores. Per Christum Dominum nostrum.

Oremus.

Deus, qui populis tuis virtute consulis et amore dominaris, da huic famulo tuo .*N.* spiritum sapientiæ cum regimine disciplinæ, ut tibi toto corde devotus, in regni regimine maneat semper idoneus, tuoque munere ipsius temporibus securitas ecclesiæ dirigatur, et in tranquillitate devotio Christiana permaneat, ut in bonis operibus perseverans, ad æternum regnum, te duce, valeat pervenire. Per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum Filium tuum. Qui tecum.

Hic mutet dominus metropolitanus, vel episcopus, vocem suam[26] *more præfationis, hoc modo:*

Per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Dominus vobiscum.

Et cum spiritu tuo.

Sursum corda.

Habemus ad Dominum.

Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro.

Dignum et justum est.

Vere dignum et justum est, æquum et salutare, nos tibi semper et ubique gratias agere, Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, æterne Deus. Electorum fortitudo, et humilium celsitudo, qui in primordio per effusionem diluvii crimina mundi castigare voluisti, et per colum-

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[26] The Order for K. Edw. II. and the Liber Regalis, merely say: "*Hic mutet* —— „ —— *vocem suam.* Per omnia. *etc.*"

bam ramum olivæ portantem, pacem terris redditam demonstrasti; iterumque Aaron famulum tuum per unctionem olei sacerdotem sanxisti, et postea per hujus unguenti infusionem, ad regendum populum Israeliticum, sacerdotes, ac reges, et prophetas perunxisti, vultumque ecclesiæ in oleo exhilarandum per propheticam famuli tui vocem David esse prædixisti; ita quæsumus omnipotens Pater, ut per hujus creaturæ pinguedinem hunc servum tuum .*N.* sancti✠ficare tua bene✠dictione digneris, eumque in similitudinem columbæ pacem simplicitatis populo sibi subdito præstare, et exempla Aaron in Dei servitio diligenter imitari, regnique fastigia in consiliis scientiæ et æquitate judicii semper assequi, vultumque hilaritatis per hanc olei unctionem tuamque benedictionem,[27] te adjuvante, toti plebi paratum habere facias: *Submisse dicat*, Per Dominum.

Finitis orationibus istis,[28] *ascendat electus in cathedra coram metropolitano apposita, cui vero cum ad eum*

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[27] "Bene✠dictionem." *Lib. Reg.*

[28] The Sarum Pontifical has in the margin; "surgat rex." The rubric of the Liber Regalis is different from the text, and is as follows. "Finitis orationibus istis, surgat princeps, et resideat in prædicta cathedra coram metropolitano vel episcopo, modo quo prælibatum est. In qua cathedra princeps paululum quiescens iterato resurgat, et vadat ad altare, deponatque ibi vestes suas, præter tunicam sericam et camisiam apertas profundius usque subter pectus et inter scapulas, et in scapulis, et etiam apertas in compagibus brachiorum: aperturis tunicæ et camisiæ sibi invicem connexis ansulis argenteis. Tunc vero a metropolitano vel episcopo dissectis ansulis in apertura tunicæ et camisiæ supradictæ, pallio super dictum principem extenso, manus principis oleo inungantur, dicente metropolitano vel episcopo orationem, 'Ungantur,' *etc.*" This variation of rubric is introduced in a later hand into the margin of our text.

I would remind the student, that he must compare the many variations of the modern Roman pontifical: here I think it only necessary to quote a part of the rubric preceding the unction, according

accesserit metropolitanus, vestem[29] *qua indutus fuerit rex electus, pallio super eum interim extenso, scindat propriis usque ad cingulum manibus. Deinde manus regis electi sancto ungantur oleo, dicente metropolitano:*

Ungantur[30] manus istæ de oleo sanctificato, unde uncti fuerunt reges et prophetæ, et sicut unxit Samuel

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to that Use. "Post hæc —„— metropolitanus intingit pollicem dexteræ manus in oleum catechumenorum, et inungit in modum crucis, illius brachium dexterum, inter juncturam manus, et juncturam cubiti, atque inter scapulas."

[29] From the note just above, transcribed from the *Liber Regalis*, this vestment was the "camisia." The student should consult the glossary of Du Cange for the several meanings of this word; nearly all of which are to be referred to some ecclesiastical use, and most frequently it seems to have signified the albe. Thus he cites *Alcuin, de div. Off.*, who says: "Tunica, linea vestis erat interior, quam camisiam dicimus, vel supparum." And *Peter Blesensis*: "Indutus camisia linea, quæ communi nomine dicitur Alba." *Serm.* 41. However, in the text, the "camisia" is to be taken to signify the under garment, or linen, of the sovereign: of which meaning there are many examples in old writers. As *Isidore* explains the word: "Camisias vocamus quod in his dormimus in camis, id est, in stratis nostris." Also, *Paul the deacon*: "Supparus, vestimentum puellarum, quod et subucula, id est, camisia dicitur." *In Epit. Festi.* And once more, *Victor Uticensis*: "De palliis altaris, proh nefas, camisias sibi et femoralia faciebant." *De persec. Vandal.* l. 1.

To these it cannot be amiss to add an example of this vestment, as a royal present to an English prince, in the early part of the seventh century, from pope Boniface: who thus concludes his epistle to K. Edwin. "Præterea, benedictionem protectoris vestri beati Petri apostolorum principis vobis direximus, id est, camisiam cum ornatura in auro una, et lena Ancyriana una: quod petimus, ut eo benignitatis animo gloria vestra suscipiat, quo a nobis noscitur destinatum." *Bedæ Hist. Ecc. lib.* 2. *cap.* xj.

[30] The following is the Order in K. Ethelred's book; immediately succeeding, as was before remarked, see note 4, the prayer, "Omnipotens sempiterne Deus."

"*Hic unguatur oleo, et hæc cantetur antiphona:* Unxerunt Salomonem Sadoch sacerdos et Nathan propheta regem in Gion:

David in Regem, ut sis benedictus et constitutus rex in regno isto, super populum istum, quem Dominus

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et accedentes dixerunt, Vivat rex in æternum.

" *Quam sequatur oratio.*

" Christe, perunge hunc regem in regimen, unde unxisti sacerdotes, reges, et prophetas, ac martyres, qui per fidem vicerunt regna, et operati sunt justitiam, atque adepti sunt repromissiones. Tua sacratissima unctio super caput ejus defluat, atque ad interiora descendat, et cordis illius intima penetret, et promissionibus, quas adepti sunt victoriosissimi reges, gratia tua dignus efficiatur, quatenus et in præsenti sæculo feliciter regnet, et ad eorum consortium in cœlesti regno perveniat. Per.

Alia. Deus electorum fortitudo, et humilium celsitudo, qui in primordio per effusionem diluvii crimina mundi castigare voluisti, et per columbam ramum olivæ portantem pacem terris redditam demonstrasti, iterumque Aaron famulum tuum per unctionem olei sacerdotem sanxisti, et postea per hujus unguenti infusionem ad regendum populum Israheliticum sacerdotes ac reges et prophetas præfecisti, vultumque ecclesiæ ——." The MS. is here most unhappily imperfect: a folio having been torn out. See below, for the whole prayer, in Appendix No. 2. note 4, from the Leofric missal.

The order in the later MSS. varies considerably, nor is it difficult to trace the alterations as they were introduced. The following is the Service as appointed for K. Henry I. which, generally, is the same also in the Winchester pontifical and the Dublin MS. with the exception that these last have the prayer " Prospice omnipotens Deus," after the unction of the hands.

" *Tunc demum ab ipso metropolitano unguantur sibi manus de oleo sanctificato:* Unguantur manus istæ, *etc.* (*Oremus.* Prospice, omnipotens. *Winchester and Dublin MSS.*) *Postea vero pectus et scapulæ, ambæque compages brachiorum ipsius unguantur de supradicto oleo, et de eodem crux fiat super caput ejus, et postea de chrismate, et dicantur sequentes orationes.* Deus Dei filius Jesus. (*Oremus.* Deus, qui es justorum gloria. *Hen. I.*) *Postea ab episcopis ensem recipiat.*"

In the Cotton MS. Tiberius, B. viij. (which enables us to trace the prayer, " Prospice omnipotens," to the early part of the xjth century), and in the Bodl. MS. Rawl. C. 400, we have:

" *Tunc demum ab ipso metropolitano unguantur sibi manus de oleo sanctificato:* Unguantur

Deus tuus dedit tibi, ad regendum et gubernandum. Quod ipse præstare dignetur, qui cum Patre.

Choro interim concinente antiphonam :

Unxerunt Salomonem Sadoc sacerdos et Nathan propheta regem, et accedentes læti dixerunt, Vivat rex, vivat rex, vivat rex, in æternum.

In tempore Paschali. Alleluia.

Ps. Domine in virtute.

Oratio.

Prospice,[31] omnipotens Deus, serenis obtutibus hunc gloriosum regem .*N.* et sicut benedixisti Abraham, Isaac, et Jacob, sic illum largis benedictionibus spiritualis gratiæ cum omni plenitudine, tua potentia irrigare atque perfundere dignare. Tribue ei de rore cœli et de pinguedine terræ, abundantiam frumenti, vini, et olei, et omnium frugum opulentiam ex largitate divini mu-

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manus istæ. *etc.* *Oratio.* Prospice, omnipotens Deus. *Postea vero caput, pectus, et scapulæ, ambæque compages brachiorum ipsius unguantur a metropolitano, ita dicente:* Unguatur caput istud, *etc.* *Interim cantatur resp.* Deum time. *Post unctionem, oratio:* Deus Dei filius Jesus. *Alia.* Deus, qui es justorum. *Postea ab episcopis ensem recipiat.*" I must remark, that the rubrics in the order of Edward II. vary in some verbal *omissions* from the above. For example, it says simply, "*Oratio,*" not prefixing "*Post unctionem.*"

The Cotton MS. Tiberius E. viij. is the same with MS. Tiberius, B. viij, except that it omits the prayers "Prospice omnipotens," and "Deus, qui es justorum."

The order for K. Edward II. with some unimportant variations, follows that of the text, as far as the anointing of the head.

[31] The Sarum pontifical has "Respice," but, upon the authority of all the MSS. (the Exeter alone excepted) which have the prayer, viz. of Henry I. Edward II. and the Liber Regalis; of the Winchester pontifical; the Lansdown MS. 451; the Royal MS. 12. D. 3; and the Cotton, Tiberius B. viij; of the Bodl. MS. Rawl. c. 400, and the Dublin MS. I have introduced "Prospice" into the text.

neris longa per tempora; ut illo regnante sit sanitas in patria, et pax inviolata sit in regno, et dignitas gloriosa regalis palatii maximo splendore regiæ potestatis oculis intuentium fulgeat, luce clarissima coruscare atque splendescere, quasi splendidissima fulgura maximo perfusa lumine videatur. Tribue ei, omnipotens Deus, ut sit fortissimus protector patriæ, et consolator[32] ecclesiarum, ac cœnobiorum sanctorum maxima cum pietate regalis munificentiæ; atque ut sit fortissimus regum, triumphator hostium, ad opprimendas rebelles et paganas nationes. Sitque suis inimicis satis terribilis præ maxima fortitudine regalis potentiæ. Optimatibus quoque atque præcelsis proceribus atque fidelibus sui regni munificus, et amabilis, et pius; ut ab omnibus timeatur atque diligatur. Reges quoque de lumbis ejus per successiones temporum futurorum egrediantur regnum hoc regere totum, et post gloriosa tempora atque felicia præsentis vitæ, gaudia sempiterna in perpetua beatitudine habere mereatur. Per Dominum.[33]

Postea vero pectus, et scapulæ, ambæque compages brachiorum ipsius ungantur de supradicto oleo, et de eodem crux fiat super caput ejus, et postea de chrismate, metropolitano dicente:[34]

Ungatur caput istud, pectus, scapulæ, et compages brachiorum de oleo sanctificato, unde uncti fuerunt

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[32] This sentence, "ecclesiarum —,,— munificentiæ," is erased in the Sarum pontifical, and restored from the text of the Liber Regalis.

[33] "Inunctio Regis." Marginal note.

[34] After the word "chrismate," the Liber Regalis proceeds, as follows:

"Et prævideatur a sacrista quod ampullæ tam de oleo quam de chrismate, quarum una deaurata est et in se continens sanctum chrisma, altera vero solum argentea et in se continens oleum sanc-

reges et prophetæ, et sicut Samuel unxit David in regem ut sis benedictus, et constitutus rex in regno isto, super populum istum quem Dominus Deus tuus dedit tibi ad regendum et gubernandum. Quod ipse præstare dignetur.

Sequatur oratio, cum, Oremus.

Deus, Dei Filius, Jesus Christus, Dominus noster, qui a Patre oleo exultationis unctus est præ participibus suis, ipse per præsentem sacri unguenti infusionem Spiritus Paracliti super caput tuum infundat bene✠dictionem, eandemque usque ad interiora cordis tui penetrare faciat, quatenus hoc visibili et tractabili dono invisibilia percipere, et temporali regno justis moderaminibus executo, æternaliter cum eo regnare merearis, qui solus sine peccato Rex regum vivit, et gloriatur cum Deo Patre, in unitate Spiritus Sancti, Deus, per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Deus, qui es justorum gloria, et misericordia peccatorum, qui misisti Filium tuum pretioso sanguine suo genus humanum redimere, qui conteris bella, et propugnator es in te sperantium, et sub cujus arbitrio omnium regnorum continetur potestas, te humiliter deprecamur, ut præsentem famulum tuum .*N.* in tua misericordia confidentem, in præsenti sede regali be-

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tum, sint ad altare præparatæ. Rege igitur sic uncto, connectantur ansulæ aperturarum, propter unctionem ab abbate Westm. vel vicem ejus gerente: et dicantur a metropolitano vel episcopo sequentes orationes. 'Deus, Dei filius.' 'Deus, qui es.'"

This variation is (as before) introduced into the margin of the Sarum pontifical.

The reader will observe that the benediction "Ungatur caput," *etc.* is omitted: nor is it in the order of K. Edward II. Hence it was doubtless introduced between the date of the Liber Regalis, and of the MS. from which our text is taken.

ne ✠ dicas, eique propitius adesse digneris, ut qui tua expetit protectione defendi, omnibus sit hostibus fortior. Fac eum, Domine, beatum esse, et victorem de inimicis suis. Corona eum corona justitiæ et pietatis, ut ex toto corde et tota mente in te credens, tibi deserviat, sanctam tuam ecclesiam defendat et sublimet, populumque sibi commissum juste regat, nullis insidiantibus malis eum in injustitiam convertat. Accende, Domine, cor ejus ad amorem tuæ gratiæ per hoc unctionis oleum, unde unxisti sacerdotes, reges, et prophetas, quatenus diligens justitiam, per tramitem similiter justitiæ populum ducens, post peracta a te disposita in regali excellentia annorum curricula, pervenire ad æterna gaudia mereatur. Per.

Post hæc[35] *vero induatur sindonis colobio,*[36] *capite*

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[35] "Post hæc induatur sindonis colobio, ad modum dalmaticæ formato, capite amictu operto propter unctionem. Qui amictus per septem dies continuos circa regium caput indesinenter permanebit. Octava vero die post dicti regis consecrationem, unus episcoporum, dicto rege in ecclesia sive capella sua præsente, missam de Trinitate celebrabit. Missaque finita, idem episcopus amictum præfatum auferet de capite regali, dictumque caput regium aqua calida cum omni diligentia lavabit: quo loto et exsiccato, crines regios reverenter componet: deinde circulum aureum capiti dicti regis imponet honorifice. Quem quidem circulum memoratus princeps, ob reverentiam suæ dealbationis, ipso die feret continue capite denudato. Hiis taliter peractis, a metropolitano vel episcopo benedicantur regalia ornamenta. 'Deus, rex regum.' *etc.*" Lib. Regalis: and, in the margin of the Pontifical.

An ancient pontifical of the church of Sens, the order of which is the vijth of those printed by Martene, has this rubric: "sciendum quod ejus camisia, propter sanctam unctionem debet comburi." *De ant. ecc. rit. tom.* 2. *p.* 227.

[36] "Tunica absque manicis, vel certe cum manicis, sed brevioribus, et quæ ad cubitum vix pertinerent: ex Græco κολοβὸς, curtus." *Du Cange.* Glossarium. He cites various authorities: among them, *Isidore:* "Colobium dictum, quia longum est, et sine manicis." *Lib.* 19. *cap.* 32.

amictu[37] *propter unctionem operto, eo quidem per septem dies in albis ita existente; pedibus ejus sandalia coaptentur, et calcaria; postea induatur regalibus.*

Johan. de Janua, in Catholico: "Notum quod non solum virgines, sed etiam diaconi utebantur colobio, loco cujus postea usi sunt dalmatica." And that this was originally a female garment, appears from another old authority, who also gives us a different etymology: "Colobium, pallium virginale, ut quod ad talos descendens sine manicis, et dicitur colobium, quasi colubium, a collo depensum, vel quod sit longum." This seems quite as probable a derivation as the first: for if the colobium was short in one respect, it was long in another.

Macri says: "Hoc tunicæ genere induebantur Apostoli:" and his reason for this statement is short, if not satisfactory; "conservabatur enim in basilica apostolorum colobium D. Thomæ apostoli." *Hierolexicon*. *Ferrarius* argues (de re vestiaria, 1. cap. 7), against all the authorities above, that the colobium had short sleeves, rather than none at all: but his only proof is a doubtful passage in Tertullian.

In the "*Liber pontificalis*," in the acts of S. Eutychian, we are told; "Qui et constituit, ut quicunque fidelium defunctum martyrem sepeliret, sine dalmatica aut colobio purpurato nulla ratione sepeliret." *Tom.* 1. *p.* 65. *Edit.* Vignoll. The editor explains in a note: "Hic vero *purpuratum* esse oportere dicitur, ut scilicet martyres cum eo sepultos pro Christo sanguinem fudisse, indicio id esset."

[37] The amice was an ecclesiastical vestment, worn only by the clergy who were in sacred orders. Hence the use of it in the present case is important, in its bearing upon the mixed character which attached to an anointed sovereign. For its ancient purpose, it was a covering for the head; a square piece of linen, embroidered (or apparelled as it was technically termed) upon one edge. In the rubric in the text, it is directed to be applied, as originally intended. But at that time by the clergy of England, as now by the clergy of the church of Rome, the amice was only placed for an instant upon the top of the head, and then lowered upon the shoulders, to be left there, and adjusted round the neck. So that the use of it became merely symbolical.

Not that this was an alteration of late date: because Amalarius says, (and explains its meaning,) "Amictus est primum vestimentum nostrum, quo collum undique

Sequitur benedictio cujuscumque regalis ornamenti.

Deus, Rex regum et Dominus dominantium, per quem reges regnant, et legum conditores jura decernunt, dignare propitius bene ✠ dicere hoc regale ornamentum, et præsta ut famulus tuus rex noster, qui illud portaturus est, ornamento bonorum morum et sanctarum actionum in conspectu tuo fulgeat, et post temporalem vitam, æternam gloriam, quæ tempus non habet, sine fine possideat. Per Dominum.[38]

Benedictio ensis.

Exaudi, quæsumus Domine, preces nostras, et hunc ensem, quo famulus tuus .*N.* se circumcingi desiderat, majestatis tuæ dextera bene ✠ dicere et sancti ✠ ficare dignare, quatenus defensio ac protectio possit esse ecclesiarum, viduarum, orphanorum, omniumque Deo servientium, contra sævitiam paganorum, aliisque insidiantibus sit pavor, terror, et formido. Per Dominum nostrum.

Postea ab episcopo ensem accipiat,[39] *et cum ense totum*

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cingimus: in collo est namque vox, ideoque per collum loquendi usus exprimitur. Per amictum intelligimus custodiam vocis." *Lib.* 2. *cap.* 17. I would again refer the student, who wishes to know more of these mystical meanings, to *Durandus, lib.* 3. *cap.* 2: where he will find many of them, not omitting those which were founded, if we may use such a term, upon the strings also of the amice. But he will obtain much more solid information from *Bona*, Rer. Lit. *lib.* 1. *cap.* 24. with Sala's notes on the place: *Saussajus*, Panopl. Sacerdotalis. *pars.* 1. and *Georgius*. de Lit. Rom. Pontif. *tom.* 1.

[38] "Dictis itaque ornamentis benedictis, præfatus rex a Westm. abbate vel alio loco ipsius, ut præhabitum est, induetur vestimentis. Et prius induetur super prædictum colobium tunica longa, et talari intexta magnis imaginibus aureis ante et retro, simul caligis, sandariis, et calcaribus tibiis ejus et pedibus coaptatis. Tunc sequetur benedictio ensis. 'Exaudi,' *etc.*" Lib. Regalis, and the margin of the Pontifical.

[39] The Anglo Saxon order of

regnum sibi fideliter ad regendum secundum subscripta verba sciat esse commendatum, dicente metropolitano:

Accipe gladium per manus episcoporum, licet indignas, vice tamen et auctoritate sanctorum apostolorum consecratas, tibi regaliter impositum, nostræque benedictionis ✠ officio in defensionem sanctæ Dei ecclesiæ divinitus ordinatum: et esto memor de quo psalmista prophetavit dicens, Accingere gladio tuo super femur tuum, potentissime, ut per eundem, vim æquitatis exerceas, molem iniquitatis potenter destruas, et sanctam Dei ecclesiam ejusque fideles propugnando protegas, nec minus sub fide falsos quam Christiani nominis hostes execreris et destruas, viduas et pupillos clementer adjuves, ac defendas, desolata restaures, restaurata conserves, ulciscaris injusta, confirmes bene

K. Ethelred, immediately succeeding the prayer "Deus electorum," see above, note 30, proceeds;

[" *Hic detur gladius.* Accipe hunc gladium cum Dei benedictione tibi collatum, in quo per virtutem Sancti Spiritus resistere et ejicer eomnes inimicos tuos valeas] et cunctos sanctæ Dei ecclesiæ adversarios, regnumque tibi commissum tutari, atque protegere castra Dei, per auxilium invictissimi triumphatoris Domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui cum Patre in unitate Spiritus Sancti vivit et regnat.*

" *Oratio post datum gladium.* Deus, qui providentia tua cœlestia simul et terrena moderaris, propitiare Christianissimo regi nostro, ut omnis hostium suorum fortitudo, virtute gladii spiritualis, frangatur, ac te pro illo pugnante penitus conteratur. Per.

" *Hic coronetur Rex. etc.*" See below.

Without specifying all the variations, of which the chief is the omission of the antiphon, "Confortare," it will be sufficient to state here, that from hence, to the benediction "Sta et retine," with which the earlier Forms conclude, all the other MSS. follow the order and prayers of the text: except that one of them only, viz. that of K. Edward II., gives the benediction of the ring, and that

* The first part of this prayer, within brackets, is supplied from the Cotton MS. Tiberius B. viij.

disposita, quatenus hæc in agendo, virtutum triumpho gloriosus, justitiæque cultor egregius, cum mundi Salvatore, cujus typum geris in nomine, sine fine merearis regnare. Qui cum Patre.

Accinetus autem ense,[40] *similiter armillas*[41] *accipiat, dicente metropolitano vel episcopo:*

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the Dublin MS. omits also the benediction of the crown. The Dublin MS. is moreover imperfect, ending with the delivery of the sceptre.

[40] "Et mox rex accinctus surgit, et eximit ensem de vagina, illumque viriliter vibrat, deinde super brachium sinistrum tergit, ac iterum coram metropolitano genuflectit." *Pontif. Rom.* Of this somewhat absurd ceremony, we do not find any trace in the English Forms. The student should compare however the form, "De benedictione novi militis" in the same pontifical; from which it seems to have been introduced.

[41] There is certainly some difficulty about the "armillæ:" not as regards the shape, and purpose, and mode of being put on, for all these points are cleared by the rubric presently cited from the *Liber Regalis;* but with respect to the name. There can be little doubt that the "armilla" was originally a bracelet; as *Ducange* explains the word in his glossary, citing Strabo, *lib.* 4. and Polybius, *lib.* 2. The same learned writer adds: "Has denique armillas, quas et *Baugas* vocabant, ut præcipua regiæ dignitatis ornamenta habuisse Francos nostros, pluribus docuimus ad Alexiadem pag. 261. quod etiam de Danis ac Anglis testatur Simeon Dunelm. *lib.* 2. *cap.* 13. et Thom. Walsingham, *p.* 196."

A late writer, Mr. Taylor, has observed, (on the correctness of which I cannot venture an opinion,) "the word *baugas* identifies the 'armillæ' here spoken of with the Islandic *baugr,* and *armbaugr* the beaȝ and eaꝛm-beaȝ of the Anglo-Saxons; — their bracelet or arm-ring." *Glory of regality, p.* 84.

But I do not think the difficulty above spoken of, is so great as some would make it: who argue that anciently the stole and the armil were two different things, put on separately: first the stole, then the armil or bracelet. I do not see that there is any reasonable ground to suppose this: but rather, that the armil was always made in the shape of a stole, and answered the purpose of it. It was called armil, because after being put about the neck, it was tied to the arms. Mr. Taylor, above mentioned, appeals to Thomas

Accipe armillas sinceritatis et sapientiæ, divinæque circumdationis indicium, quibus intelligas omnes operationes tuas contra hostes visibiles et invisibiles posse esse munitas: per Dominum.[42]

Walsingham, as "a triumphant authority" to prove that the two were, anciently, different things: but the place he refers to is by no means so clear to that effect: for the historian says, that first the stole was put on, then that the archbishop delivered the armillæ. "Projecta circa collum ejus stola, —— tunc duo comites eum gladio accinxerunt, quo facto, archiepiscopus armillas dedit ei, dicens: Accipe armillas, *etc.*" *Hist. Angl. p.* 196. This may well be understood to signify that these armillæ were first laid upon the shoulders of the king "in modum stolæ:" and when about to be tied to the arms, the archbishop repeated the prescribed form. Nor would there be any obscurity in Walsingham's account, if he had not inserted the account of the sword. The two ends however of the armillæ might during that time have been pendent, and untied. But in short: all this argument rests upon the supposition that Walsingham is correct in every detail: he might have been so: but whether or not, it is *impossible* that he can be so interpreted as to be made to say, that the armillæ and the stole were two different things: for the actual Form and Order of that coronation which he describes is the Liber Regalis, from which I have transcribed in the following note a rubric, which settles the dispute.

This is a long note, yet I would add the following from "the Little Devise of the coronacion of Henrie VII." "And it is to wit that armyll is made in manner of a stole woven with golde and set with stones, to be put by the cardinall about the king's neck, and comyng from bothe shulders to his bothe elbowes, where thei shall be fastenid by the abbot of Westminster, with lace of silke to euerie side the elbowe in two places; that is to say, aboue the elbowes and beneth." *Ives' select papers, p.* 110.

[42] The Liber Regalis, and the margin of the Pontifical, have the following rubric:

"Istæ quidem armillæ, in modum stolæ, circa collum et ab utraque scapula usque ad compages brachiorum erunt dependentes, in ipsis brachiorum compagibus laqueis sericis connexæ, prout plenius per ipsarum poterit discerni compositionem. Deinde pallio regali induetur; quod quidem pallium quadrum est, et aquilis aureis per totum contextum. Et dicat

Deinde tradatur ei pallium,[43] *metropolitano dicente sic:*

Accipe pallium quatuor initiis formatum, per quod intelligas quatuor mundi partes divinæ potestati esse subjectas, nec quemquam posse feliciter regnare in terris, nisi cui potestas regnandi fuerit collata de cœlis: Per Dominum.

Sequatur benedictio coronæ, hoc modo:

Deus, tuorum corona fidelium, qui in capitibus eorum ponis coronam de lapide pretioso, bene ✠ dic et sancti ✠ fica coronam istam, quatenus sicut ipsa diversis pretiosisque lapidibus adornatur, sic famulus tuus gestator ipsius multiplici pretiosarum virtutum munere, tua largiente gratia, repleatur: per Dominum nostrum, Jesum Christum, Filium tuum, Regem æternum. Qui tecum.

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metropolitanus vel episcopus: 'Accipe pallium,' *etc.*

The order of K. Ethelred does not notice the armillæ or the pallium. See above, note 39.

[43] "*Pallium quadrangulum,* cujusmodi etiam fuit Romanorum paludamentum, regum nostrorum proprium fuit: sic autem describitur a monacho Sangellensi, *lib.* 1. *cap.* 33. *Gloriosissimus Carolus ad nocturnas laudes pendulo et profundissimo pallio utebatur. Cap.* 36. *Ultimus habitus eorum erat pallium canum vel, sapphiricum quadrangulum, duplex, sic formatum, ut cum imponeretur humeris, ante et retro pedes tegeret, de lateribus vero vix genua contegeret.* Quod quidem pallii genus etiamnum retinent principes nostri in suis inaugurationibus." *Ducange: gloss. in verb.*

The open pall, as worn by K. James II. is figured in Sandford's account of that coronation: he calls it also the Dalmatic: by which we may suppose that the "robe royal" of modern days, or Dalmatic, is the ancient pall. But they were properly distinct vestments, and of different shapes. The Dalmatic, was a super-tunic, proper to deacons; and originally restricted to bishops. The first mention of it as an ecclesiastical garment is in the life of S. Cyprian, by his deacon: who, describing his martyrdom, says; "Cum se dalmatica exspoliasset, et diaconibus tradidisset, in linea stetit." I need scarcely remind

Tunc aspergatur aqua benedicta[44] *super coronam, et incensetur; deinde imponatur corona capiti regis a metropolitano, dicente hoc modo:*

Coronet[45] te Deus corona gloriæ, atque justitiæ honore, et opere fortitudinis, ut per officium nostræ bene✠dictionis, cum fide recta et multiplici bonorum operum fructu, ad coronam pervenias regni perpetui, ipso largiente, cujus regnum permanet in sæcula sæculorum.

Alia oratio.

Deus perpetuitatis, dux virtutum, cunctorum hostium victor, bene✠dic hunc famulum tuum .*N.* tibi caput suum inclinantem, et prolixa sanitate et prospera felicitate eum conserva, et ubicumque auxilium tuum invocaverit, cito adsis, et protegas ac defendas. Tribue ei, quæsumus Domine, divitias gratiæ tuæ, comple in bonis desiderium ejus, corona eum in misericordia tua, tibique Domino pia devotione jugiter famuletur: Per Dominum.

Postea cantetur hæc antiphona:

Confortare, et esto vir, et observa mandata Domini Dei tui, ut ambules in viis ejus, et custodias cæremonias ejus, et præcepta ejus, et testimonia, et judicia, et quocunque te verteris confirmet te Deus.

Ps. Dominus regit.

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the reader, that this "pall" is a very different thing from the pall of an archbishop.

[44] "— minutatim super coronam, atque a metropolitano vel episcopo incensetur: *etc.*" Lib. Regalis. The rubric is the same in the order of K. Edward II.

[45] This and the succeeding prayer are of very high antiquity, in this place: occurring after the rubric "*Hic coronetur rex, eique dicatur:*" (see Note 39,) in the Anglo-Saxon order of K. Ethelred. Between the two prayers in that manuscript is this rubric, "*Oratio super regem, postquam corona fuerit imposita super caput ejus.* Deus perpetuitatis. *etc.*"

Sequitur benedictio annuli.

Deus, cœlestium terrestriumque conditor creaturarum, atque humani generis benignissime reparator, dator spiritualis gratiæ, omniumque benedictionum largitor, qui justitiam tuæ legis in cordibus credentium digito tuo, id est, Unigenito tuo scribis, cui magi in Egypto resistere non valentes concinebant, dicentes, digitus Dei est hic, immitte Spiritum Sanctum Paraclitum tuum de cœlis super hunc annulum arte fabrili decoratum, et sublimitatis tuæ potentia ita eum emundare digneris, ut omni nequitia lividi venenosique serpentis procul expulsa, metallum a te bono Conditore creatum immune a cunctis sordibus inimici maneat: Per Christum.

Benedictio.

Bene✠dic, Domine, et sancti✠fica annulum istum, et mitte super eum septiformem Spiritum tuum, quo famulus tuus eo fruens, annulo fidei subarratus, virtute Altissimi sine peccato custodiatur, et omnes benedictiones quæ in scripturis divinis reperiuntur super eum copiose descendant, ut quæcumque sanctificaverit sanctificata permaneant, et quæcumque benedixerit spirituali benedictione benedicantur: Per Dominum: in unitate ejusdem.

Deinde detur ei annulus, metropolitano dicente:

Accipe regiæ dignitatis annulum, et per hunc in te catholicæ fidei signaculum, quatenus ut hodie ornaris caput et princeps regni ac populi, ita perseveres auctor ac stabilitor Christianitatis et Christianæ fidei; ut felix in opere, locuples in fide, cum Rege regum glorieris, cui est honor et gloria per æterna sæculorum sæcula. Amen.

Deus, cujus est omnis potestas et dignitas, da famulo tuo suæ propriæ dignitatis effectum, in qua, te remune-

rante, permaneat, semperque te timeat, tibique jugiter placere contendat. Per Dominum.

Deinde accipiat ensem unde accinctus fuerat, et eum super altare Deo offerat, quem comes aliis superior redimet, et redemptum ante eum deferet nudum.[46] *Cum detur ei sceptrum*[47] *dicat metropolitanus:*

Accipe sceptrum regiæ potestatis insigne, virgam scilicet regni rectam, virgam virtutis, qua teipsum bene regas, sanctam ecclesiam populumque videlicet Christianum, tibi a Deo commissum, regia virtute ab improbis defendas, pravos corrigas, rectos pacifices, et ut viam rectam tenere possint tuo juvamine dirigas, quatenus de temporali regno ad æternum regnum pervenias, ipso adjuvante cujus regnum permanet in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Post[48] *datum sceptrum, oratio.*

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[46] The Liber Regalis and the margin of the Pontifical add: "Cujus ensis pretium dicto altari pertinet. Deinde dabitur ei sceptrum in manu dextra, quod quidem sceptrum aureum est, in cujus summitate crux parva collocatur, prius chirothecis de regalibus manibus ejus applicatis, a metropolitano vel episcopo dicente: 'Accipe sceptrum' *etc.*"

In the order of K. Ethelred, the rubric immediately succeeding the prayer (see Note 45.) "Deus perpetuitatis" is, "*Hic detur regi sceptrum, eique dicatur:* 'Accipe sceptrum' *etc.*" The reader will observe that all this part of the Office can be traced in the same order, up to the Anglo-Saxon age.

[47] There cannot be a better distinction laid down between the two sceptres, the "sceptrum" and the "virga," than that in the rubric from the Liber Regalis in the note above, compared with the succeeding one from the same book, in note 49. Namely, that the one was surmounted by a cross, the other by a dove. And Hoveden, in his account of the coronation of Richard I., gives the same explanation. We learn from the Ethelred order, that there was a distinction in the Saxon age, between the two sceptres: and I do not see any reason to suppose, but that it was of the same kind then, as in after years.

[48] "*Oratio super regem, postquam datum fuerit ei sceptrum:*

Omnium Domine fons bonorum, cunctorumque Deus institutor perfectuum, tribue, quæsumus, famulo tuo *N.* adeptam bene regere dignitatem, et a te sibi præstitum honorem dignare corroborare: honorifica eum præ cunctis regibus, uberi eum benedictione ✠ locupleta, et in solio regni firma stabilitate consolida, visita eum in sobole, præsta ei prolixitatem vitæ, in diebus ejus semper oriatur justitia, ut cum jocundidate et lætitia æterno glorietur in regno. Per Christum.

Postmodum tradatur ei virga in sinistra manu:[49] *dicente metropolitano:*

Accipe virgam virtutis atque æquitatis, qua intelligas te mulcere pios, et terrere reprobos: errantes viam doce, lapsisque manum porrige, disperdasque superbos, et releves humiles, ut aperiat tibi ostium Jesus Christus Dominus noster, qui de seipso ait, Ego sum ostium, per me si quis introierit salvabitur. Et ipse qui est clavis David, et sceptrum domus Israel, qui aperit et nemo claudit, claudit et nemo aperit, sit tibi adjutor, qui educit vinctum de domo carceris sedentem in tenebris et umbra mortis, ut in omnibus sequi merearis eum de quo propheta David cecinit, Sedes tua, Deus, in sæculum sæculi, virga recta est virga regni tui: et imitare eum qui dicit, Diligas justitiam et odio habeas iniquitatem, propterea unxit te Deus, Deus tuus, oleo lætitiæ: ad exemplum illius quem ante sæcula unxerat præ participibus suis, Dominum nostrum, Jesum Christum. Qui cum Patre.

Omnium, Domine, fons bonorum. *etc.*" K. Ethelred.

[49] "Quæ quidem virga aurea est, habens in summitate columbam auream." Rubr. Lib. Reg. and the margin of Sar. Pontif. The rubric in the order of K. Ethelred, preceding the "Accipe Virgam," is: "*Hic regi virga detur, eique dicatur.*"

Tunc dicatur[50] *super eum benedictio sequens:*

Benedicat tibi Dominus, custodiatque te, et sicut te voluit super populum suum esse regem, ita in præsenti sæculo felicem, et æternæ felicitatis tribuat esse consortem. Amen.

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50 This benediction is appointed in the order of K. Henry I., and in the very ancient Cotton MS. Tiberius. B. viij: also of the xjth century. But in the Anglo-Saxon Form of K. Ethelred we have the following:

"*Benedictio ad regem.*

"Extendat omnipotens Dominus dexteram suæ benedictionis, et effundat super te donum suæ protectionis, et circumdet te muro felicitatis, ac custodia suæ protectionis: Sanctæ Mariæ, ac beati Petri Apostolorum principis, sanctique Gregorii Anglorum apostoli atque omnium sanctorum intercedentibus meritis. Amen.

"Indulgeat tibi Dominus omnia mala quæ gessisti, et tribuat tibi gratiam et misericordiam quam humiliter ab eo deposcis, ut liberet te ab adversitatibus cunctis, et ab omnibus visibilium et invisibilium inimicorum insidiis. Amen.

"Angelos suos bonos semper et ubique qui te præcedant, comitentur et subsequantur, ad custodiam tui ponat, et a peccato seu gladio, et ab omnium periculorum discrimine sua te potentia liberet. Amen.

Inimicos tuos ad pacis caritatisque benignitatem convertat, et bonis omnibus te gratiosum et amabilem faciat, pertinaces quoque in tui insectatione et odio confusione salutari induat: super te autem sanctificatio sempiterna floreat.

"Victoriosum te atque triumphatorem de invisibilibus atque visibilibus hostibus semper efficiat, et sancti nominis sui timorem pariter et amorem continuum cordi tuo infundat, et in fide recta ac bonis operibus perseverabilem reddat, et pace in diebus tuis concessa, cum palma victoriæ te ad perpetuum regnum producat. Amen.

"Et qui te voluit super populum suum constituere regem, et in præsenti sæculo felicem, et æternæ felicitatis tribuat esse consortem.

Alia.

"Benedic, Domine, hunc præelectum principem, qui regna omnium qui regna omnium regum a sæculo moderaris. Amen.

"Et tali eum benedictione glorifica, ut Davidica teneat sublimitate sceptrum salutis: et sanctificæ propitiationis munere repeperiatur locupletatus. Amen.

"Da ei tuo spiramine regere populum sicut Salomonem fecisti regnum obtinere pacificum. Amen.

"*Designatio status regis.*

"Sta et retine. *etc.*"

Clerum ac populum, quem sua voluit opitulatione tua sanctione congregari, sua dispensatione et tua administratione per diuturna tempora faciat feliciter gubernari. Amen.

Quatenus divinis monitis parentes, adversantibus omnibus carentes, bonis omnibus exuberantes, tuo imperio fideli amore obsequentes, et in præsenti sæculo pacis tranquillitate fruantur, et tecum æternorum civium consortio potiri mereantur. Amen.

Quod ipse præstare dignetur.[51]

Coronatus autem osculetur episcopos, a quibus vero et etiam aliis regni proceribus ducetur ad regale solium, choro canente:

Te Deum laudamus.

Quo hymno ad finem producto, dicat metropolitanus:[52]

Sta et retine amodo locum, quem hucusque paterna

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[51] In the Liber Regalis, and in the margin of the Pontifical, the rubric is:

"Et prævideatur a sacrista Westm. quod ornamenta regalia cum magna corona prius sint super magnum altare honorifice collocata: ut omnia fiant sine impedimento, propter maximam plebis confluentiam, quæ in hujusmodi coronationibus indubitanter solet evenire. Coronatus autem rex, et regalibus prius indutus per abbatem Westm. caligis, sandaliis, et calcaribus coaptatis, osculabitur episcopos, a quibus, *etc.*"

There is sufficient evidence in history, that the caution in this rubric, as to the throng of people, was not uncalled for: thus, Walsingham tells us, in his account of the coronation of Edw. II., "Fuit autem ibi tanta compressio populi, ut quidam miles Johannes de Blackwel, sine viatico expiraret." *Hist. Angl. p.* 96. And again, incidentally, as to this coronation itself of K. Richard II., "Adveniente die præfixo, conveniunt de cunctis regni partibus, in tanta quidem copia, ut numerus Londoniæ confluentium multitudinem eorum, qui ad regis coronationem paucis annis ante confluxerant excessive (multorum testimonio) superaret." *p.* 237. See also *Holinshed, Vol.* 3, *p.* 319.

[52] "——— *dicat consecrans regem.*" Rubr. Lib. Regalis.

successione tenuisti hæreditario judicio, tibi delegatum per auctoritatem Dei omnipotentis, et præsentem traditionem nostram et omnium episcoporum cæterorumque Dei servorum: et quanto clerum sacris altaribus propinquiorem perspicis, tanto ei potiorem in locis congruis honorem impendere memineris; quatenus mediator Dei et hominum,[53] te mediatorem cleri et plebis in hoc regni solio confirmet, et in regnum æternum regnare faciat, Jesus Christus, Dominus Noster, Rex regum, et Dominus dominantium: Qui cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto, vivit et regnat in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.[54]

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[53] Catalani has some observations, strange enough, as if the attributing the Mediatorial office to our Blessed Saviour required explanation. Rather, whenever the term "mediators" is applied to the clergy of the Church of Christ, it requires an explanation; and that we should remember the just and proper sense, in which it was used by the older Fathers: not as suggesting any interference with the incommunicable prerogative of our Blessed Lord, by which He is the alone and sole Mediator between God and man, but as referring simply to an infinitely lower degree of mediatorship, which is ministerial only, and nothing more. It is in this sense that the authors of the Apostolical Constitutions wrote, when they thus addressed the Bishops of that primitive age:—"ὑμεις τοις εν ὑμιν λαικοις ἐστε προφηται—ὁι μεσιται Θεου και των πιστων αὐτου." *Lib.* 2. *Cap.* xxv. And the very learned editor, Cotelerius, refers to many similar passages in the Fathers, summing up the whole with this remark: "Solus Christus, aiunt theologi, mediator est naturæ ac redemptionis; sacerdotes autem mediatores sunt ministerii et intercessionis." So also S. Basil interpreted the text of S. Paul to the Galatians, not explaining away the real mediatorship (in its limited sense) of Moses, where he writes; "Τον γαρ μεσιτην Θεου και ανθρωπων δι' ἑαυτον τοτε προαπετυπου ἐν τῃ του νομου διακονιᾳ. Οὐ γαρ του Πνευματος τυπος ἠν Μωυσης, τα προς τον Θεον τῳ λαῳ μεσιτευων." *De Spiritu Sancto.* Cap. xiv. 33.

[54] The reader will remember, see Note 39, that with this "designatio status," as it is termed in

Oratio.

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus det tibi, de rore cœli et de pinguedine terræ, abundantiam frumenti et vini et olei, et serviant tibi populi, et adorent te tribus. Esto dominus fratrum tuorum, et incurventur ante te filii matris tuæ. Qui benedixerit tibi benedictionibus repleatur, et Deus erit adjutor tuus. Omnipotens Deus benedicat tibi benedictionibus cœli desuper, et in montibus et in collibus, benedictionibus abyssi jacentis deorsum, benedictionibus uberum et frumentorum, benedictionibus uvarum pomorumque; benedictiones patrum antiquorum, Abraham, Isaac, et Jacob, confirmatæ sint super te, per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Bene✠dic, Domine, fortitudinem hujus principis, et

K. Ethelred's order, the earlier Forms conclude. And in fact the two succeeding prayers would seem to belong properly to the mass which follows, and where they are ordered in the Pontifical to be said, as the student will observe. Hence they are not placed here in the order of Edward II., nor in the Liber Regalis, nor in the MS. in the King's Library. (Brit. Mus.) 12. D. iij. In the Evesham pontifical, however, (Lansdown MS. 451) we find them placed as in the text. But what is very remarkable, they are appointed to be said here, in the very ancient Anglo-Saxon order of K. Ethelred, with which that Form concludes. Thus:

"Sta et retine, *etc.*

"*Sequitur oratio.* Omnipotens Deus det tibi, *etc.*

"*Alia oratio.* Benedic, Domine, fortitudinem, *etc.*

Finit consecratio regis." Then follows the Order for a Queen: and the proper mass. In my remark above, that these two prayers would *seem* to belong more properly to the mass, I am borne out by a marginal note in the Pontifical, in a somewhat later hand: viz.: "Istæ duæ orationes sequentes debent dici super regem infra missam, postquam oblationem fecerit." But the reader will not fail to perceive that the text, below, of the Pontifical itself leaves it doubtful: merely saying, "vel dicantur loco quo intitulantur, secundum quosdam."

opera manuum illius suscipe; et benedictione tua terra ejus de bonis repleatur, de fructu cœli et rore, atque abyssi subjacentis, de fructu solis et lunæ, de vertice antiquorum montium, de pomis æternorum collium, et de frugibus terræ et plenitudine ejus. Bene✠dictio illius qui apparuit in rubo veniat super caput istius, et plena sit benedictio Domini in filiis ejus, et tingat in oleo pedem suum. Cornua rhinocerontis cornua illius, in ipsis ventilabit gentes usque ad terminos terræ, et Ascensor cœli auxiliator suus in sempiternum fiat. Per Dominum: qui tecum vivit.

Rege itaque in solio suo taliter collocato, pares regni dictum regem undique circumstantes, manibus palam extensis in signum fidelitatis, offerent se ad dicti regis et dictæ coronæ sustentationem.[55]

Deinde sequatur coronatio reginæ, si eodem die fuerit coronanda.

Sin autem, incipiatur officium missæ[56] *a cantoribus de*

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[55] The Liber Regalis and the margin of the Pontifical add:

"Et illi præcipue qui stirpe regali sunt propinquiores in sustentationem coronæ, sceptræ, et virgæ, regios labores alleviabunt: facto prius dicto regi, ab omnibus proceribus regni tunc præsentibus, publice super dictum pulpitum homagio."

[56] There is scarcely an instance upon record, from the time that the coronation of our sovereigns became an office especially to be fulfilled by the Church, that the celebration of the Holy Communion did not also form part of it. Either before, or after, or mixed up with the rites and ceremonies of the solemnity itself. Nor has it been otherwise with other Christian nations. Thus *Baronius* (*ad annum* 816) speaks of the coronation of Louis the Pious and his queen. "Postea pontifex honoravit eum magnis honoribus, et multis, et reginam Irmingardam, et omnes optimates, et ministros ejus: et in proxima dominica, ante missarum solemnia, coram clero, et omni populo, consecravit eum, et unxit ad imperatorem, *etc.*" Again, the same historian, describing a coronation by Pope

solemnitate diei, si contigerit dictam fieri coronationem in festo solemni. Si vero evenerit quod dicta coronatio fiat in simplici die, dicatur, missa prius de dominica a conventu debito modo celebrata, missa specialis pro rege: videlicet, Officium:

Protector noster aspice Deus, et respice in faciem Christi tui: quia melior est dies una in atriis tuis super millia.

Ps. Quam dilecta tabernacula tua, Domine virtutum: concupiscit et deficit anima mea in atria Domini.

Et quocumque tempore anni dicta coronatio fuit facta, dicetur ad missam:

Gloria in excelsis Deo.

Oratio.

Quæsumus[57] omnipotens Deus, ut famulus tuus rex noster, qui tua miseratione suscepit regni gubernacula, virtutum etiam omnium percipiat incrementa, quibus decenter ornatus, et vitiorum[58] voraginem devitare, et hostes superare, et ad te, qui via veritas et vita es, gratiosus valeat pervenire: Per Dominum.

Et si regina fuerit eodem die coronata, dicetur ad missam pro rege quam pro regina, ista oratio.

Stephen II. in the preceding century, says: "Inter celebrationem consecrationis altaris, et oblationem sacratissimi sacrificii, unxit in reges Francorum florentissimum regem [Pipinum] et duos filios ejus, Carolum et Carlomannum." *Ad annum* 714. The reader will also see, by reference to the Appendix to this office, No. 2, that in the viijth century, according to the pontifical of archbishop Egbert, it was the custom to mix up the solemnities of the coronation with the Eucharistic Service.

[57] The "Missa pro rege ordinato," in K. Ethelred's Office, commences with this collect, the same, except the variation noticed just below. This mass gives a proper collect, secret, preface, and benediction: there was a post-communion also, or "*ad complendum*," but the MS. ends, imperfect, with those words.

[58] "Et vitiorum monstra devitare, et ad te, qui via. *etc.*" Order of K. Ethelred.

Deus, in cujus manu corda sunt regum, qui es humilium consolator, et fidelium fortitudo, et protector omnium in te sperantium, da regi nostro .*N.* et reginæ nostræ .*N.* populoque Christiano, triumphum virtutis tuæ scienter excolere, ut per te semper reparentur ad veniam. Per Dominum.

Lectio epistolæ beati Petri Apostoli.

Carissimi; subjecti estote omni humanæ creaturæ propter Deum, sive regi quasi præcellenti, sive ducibus tanquam ab eo missis, ad vindictam malefactorum, laudem vero bonorum. Quia sic est voluntas Dei, ut benefacientes obmutescere faciatis imprudentium hominum ignorantiam. Non quasi velamen habentes malitiæ libertatem, sed sicut servi Dei. Omnes honorate, fraternitatem diligite. Deum timete, regem honorificate. Servi subditi estote in omni timore dominis. Non tantum bonis et modestis; sed etiam discolis. Hæc est enim gratia in Christo, Jesu, Domino nostro.

Gr. Dirigatur oratio mea sicut incensum in conspectu tuo, Domine.

Vers. Elevatio manuum mearum sacrificium vespertinum. Alleluia.

Vers. Domine, in virtute tua lætabitur rex: et super salutare tuum exultabit vehementer.

Si dicta coronatio fiat infra Septuagesimam, dicatur sequens Tractus:

Desiderium animi ejus tribuisti ei, et voluntate labiorum ejus non fraudasti eum.

Vers. Quoniam prævenisti eum in benedictione dulcedinis.

Vers. Posuisti super caput ejus coronam de lapide pretioso.

Secundum Matthæum.

In illo tempore: Abeuntes Pharisæi consilium ini-

erunt, ut caperent Jesum in sermone. Et mittunt ei discipulos suos cum Herodianis dicentes; Magister, scimus quia verax es, et viam Dei in veritate doces, et non est tibi cura de aliquo. Non enim respicis personam hominum. Dic ergo nobis quid tibi videtur: Si licet censum dari Cæsari an non? Cognita autem Jesus nequitia eorum ait; Quid me tentatis, hypocritæ? Ostendite mihi numisma census. At illi obtulerunt ei denarium. Et ait illis Jesus, Cujus est imago hæc et superscriptio? Dicunt ei, Cæsaris. Tunc ait illis: Reddite ergo quæ sunt Cæsaris Cæsari, et quæ sunt Dei Deo.

Lecto evangelio, dum symbolum a choro cantatur, major inter archiepiscopos sive episcopos tunc assistens librum evangelii accipiet, et tam ad regem quam ad reginam deportabit ad osculandum. Deinde referet ad archiepiscopum sive episcopum qui missam celebrat. Quo vero evangelistario a dicto pontifice deosculato, symboloque a choro decantato, incipiatur Offertorium.

Intende voci orationis meæ, rex meus et Deus meus, quoniam ad te orabo, Domine.

Dum canitur offertorium,[59] *procedent rex et regina de soliis suis coronati ad altare, dictique metropolitani manibus vel missam celebrantis oblationem panis et vini, imitando Melchisedech, [rex?] imponet. Deinde offeret marcam auri, et postea regina offeret oblationem suam, et capite regis ante altare paululum inclinato, dicat pontifex qui celebrat missam orationes sequentes.*

Dominus vobiscum.

Omnipotens Deus det tibi de rore cœli.

Benedic, Domine, fortitudinem hujus principis.

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[59] "Oblatio panis, et vini, et unius marcæ." Marginal note in the Pontifical.

Ut supra,[60] *vel dicantur loco quo intitulantur, secundum quosdam.*

His orationibus finitis, reducantur ad sedes suas.

Sequatur Secretum.

Munera, quæsumus Domine, oblata sanctifica, ut et nobis Unigeniti tui corpus et sanguis fiant, et famulo tuo regi nostro ad obtinendam animæ corporisque salutem, et ad peragendum injunctum officium, te làrgiente, usquequaque perficiant. Per eundem.

Aliud secretum pro rege et regina.[61]

Suscipe, Deus, preces et hostias ecclesiæ tuæ, pro salute famuli tui regis nostri .*N.* et reginæ nostræ *N.* et protectione fidelium populorum, supplicantis ut antiqua brachii tui te operante miracula, superatis inimicis, secura tibi serviat Christianorum libertas. Per Dominum nostrum, Jesum Christum, Filium tuum.

Præfatio[62] *in coronatione regis.*

Æterne Deus, qui es fons immarcessibilis lucis, et origo perpetuæ bonitatis, regum consecrator, bonorum omnium attributor, dignitatumque largitor. Cujus ineffabilem clementiam votis omnibus exoramus, ut famulum tuum .*N.* quem regalis dignitatis fastigio voluisti sublimari, sapientiæ cæterarumque virtutum ornamentis facias decorari. Et quia tui est muneris quod regnat, tuæ sit pietatis quo id feliciter agat, qua-

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[60] See above, p. 38, and the note there. It may be added here, that the mass in the text agrees, generally, with that appointed in the order of K. Edward II.

[61] This does not occur in the Royal MS. D. 12. iij., nor in the order of Edward II., nor in the Evesham pontifical. The Liber Regalis reads: "Suscipe, Domine, preces," *etc.*

[62] The order of K. Ethelred appoints this Preface; and it is somewhat remarkable that the Evesham pontifical, unless I am mistaken in my note of it, has no proper Preface.

tenus in fundamento spei fidei caritatisque fundatus, peccatorum labe abstersus, de visibilibus et invisibilibus hostibus triumphator effectus, subjecti populi augmento, prosperitate et securitate exhilaratus, cum eis mutua dilectione connexus, et transitorii regni gubernacula inculpabiliter teneat, et ad æterni infinita gaudia, te miserante, perveniat. Per Christum Dominum nostrum.

Sequatur ante Agnus Dei, *Benedictio*[63] *super regem et populum.*

Omnipotens Deus carismatum suorum vos locupletet jocunditate, et regem nostrum ecclesiasticæ pacis perfrui faciat tranquillitate. Amen.

Angelum sanctum suum ubique ei custodem tribuat et defensorem, tamque vobis quam et illi virtutum sanctarum conferat vigorem. Amen.

Ambitum regni sui in diebus ejus pax circumdet honesta, et quocumque se vertet, adversariorum vis enervetur infesta, omnisque in vobis religio abundet modesta. Amen. Quod ipse præstare.

Dum canitur Agnus Dei, *accepto osculo pacis a pontifice missam celebrante, is qui librum evangelii ante detulerat, deferet pacem regi et reginæ in soliis suis re-*

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[63] The following is appointed in K. Ethelred's Form.

"*Benedictio.* Providentia et gubernatio Dei omnipotentis, quæ te in regale dignitatis solium hodierna die mirifice disposuit ordinare, dignetur te benedicere, sublimare, et triumphabiliter confirmare.

"Faciat te prudentem consilio, audacem ingenio, præclarum imperio, ut culmina regni sagaciter prævideas, et hostium machinamenta fortiter repugnes. Amen.

"Quatenus lorica fidei munitus, ense trophæi stipatus, galea quoque salutis redimitus, securus vitæ tempora subtiliter et perspicaciter possideas, ut cum Christo, Rege regum et Domino dominorum, in æternæ felicitatis regno feliciter regnare valeas. Amen."

sidentibus. Osculo autem pacis a rege et regina accepto, descendentes rex et regina de soliis suis, et accedentes humiliter ad altare, percipient corpus et sanguinem Domini de manu archiepiscopi, vel episcopi missam celebrantis.[64] *Perceptis tam a rege quam a regina corpore et sanguine Christi, ad dicta solia redibunt immediate. Quibus in sedibus suis residentibus, incipiatur a cantoribus Communio.*

Intellige clamorem meum, intende voci orationis meæ, Rex meus et Deus meus, quoniam ad te orabo, Domine.

Postcommunio.

Hæc nos, Domine, communio purget a crimine, et famulum tuum .*N*. regem nostrum ab omnibus tueatur adversis, quatenus et ecclesiasticæ pacis obtineat tranquillitatem, et post istius temporis decursum ad æternam perveniat hæreditatem. Per Dominum.[65]

Alia postcommunio pro rege et regina.

Præsta, quæsumus omnipotens Deus, ut per hæc mysteria quæ sumpsimus, rex noster et regina nostra *N*. et populus Christianus semper rationabilia meditantes, quæ tibi sunt placita et dictis exequantur et factis. Per.

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[64] "Corpore vero Domini a rege recepto, ministrabit ei vinum ad utendum post perceptionem sacramenti abbas Westm. vel is qui vicem ejus pro tempore gerit, prout dictum est, de calice lapideo de regalibus; ac etiam reginæ post regem de eodem calice prædictus abbas ministrabit, in signum videlicet unitatis. Quia sicut in Christo sunt una caro fœdere conjugali, sic etiam de uno calice participare debent. Perceptis tam, *etc.*" Liber Regalis, and the margin of the Pontifical.

[65] The order for K. Edwd. II. ends here: with the rubric: "Finit consecratio regis." Nor is this second post-communion in the Royal MS. 12. D. iij., or, in the Evesham pontifical.

Expleta missa, descendent rex et regina de soliis suis, et procedent ad magnum altare, pontificibus et magnatibus ipsos comitantibus. Qui mox ad altare cum pervenerint, dictus pontifex qui missam celebravit, et eisdem vestimentis quibus fuerat prius pontificaliter indutus, altaris ministris, ut prius indutis, cum ceroferariis et thuriferariis reverenter ipsum præcedentibus, usque ad feretrum sancti Edwardi est devote incessurus, rege et regina suis indutis regalibus, cum dictis pontificibus et proceribus, dictum episcopum subsequentibus. Quo cum pervenerint ante altare dicti feretri, dictus pontifex deponat coronas de capitibus eorum, ponetque eas super altare præfatum: et cætera.[66]

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[66] The following long note is introduced into the text of the rubric of the Liber Regalis, and concludes in that MS. the Office of the Coronation of a King. Being too long to be written, as usual, on the margin of the Sarum Pontifical, an extra folio has been inserted, upon which it is written, not in red, but in black: with marginal notes, which are introduced also below.

"Deinde magnus camerarius[a] Angliæ exuet regem regalibus antedictis, quæ per dictum camerarium singillatim, sicut a rege auferuntur, tradentur abbati Westmonasteriensi, vel vicem ejus agenti, ut sæpius præscriptum est, super dictum altare reponenda. Eritque ibi locus[b] clausus, juxta altare, cum curtinis, per regios ministros præparatus, in quo rex de suis ut prædictum est exutus regalibus, usque ad tunicam sericam et camisiam, ac caligas regales et sandaria, a dicto magno camerario[c] aliis vestibus de novo erit reindutus. Regina interim coram dicto altare regem expectante, deponet etiam rex dictas caligas et sandaria, quæ a dicto camerario prædicto abbati Westmonasteriensi vel locum ejus tenenti integre restituantur, et aliis caligis et sandariis induetur a camerario præfato.

"Rex[d] igitur ut prædictum est

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[a] Camerarius magnus Angliæ exuit regem.

[b] Locus clausus, juxta altare.

[c] Camerarius reinduit regem.

[d] Processus regis ad altare feretri.

aliis vestibus honorifice reindutus, procedet humiliter ad altare feretri antedicti. Quo cum advenerit, dictus archiepiscopus, sive episcopus, revestitus eodem modo quo fuerat quando missam celebravit, alias coronas[e] capitibus regis et reginæ reverenter imponet. Qui sic a dicto pontifice coronati, et sceptra[f] tantum de regalibus in manibus portantes, a dicto feretro per magnum altare, et dictum pulpitum ascendentes, per medium chori eadem via qua venerant in ecclesiam, prænominatis comitibus[g] prædictos gladios coram rege deferentibus, cum magna gloria sunt reversuri.

"Et sciendum quod exterius indumentum, quo dictus rex illo die ante coronationem fuerat indutus, pertinet ad monachum qui habet pro tunc custodiam vestibuli dicti monasterii.

Et providebitur illo die conventui Westmonasteriensi per regios ministros, quod dictus conventus percipiet[h] die eodem centum similas, et modium vini, ac etiam de piscibus, quantum convenit dignationi regali. Quid vero sit modius vini, et quæ mensura, ex verbis Papiæ in suo elementario in .M. litera hac dictione modius, et in .S. litera hac dictione sextarium manifeste declaratur.

"Dicta vero sceptra[k] liberabuntur, statim finito prandio et rege thalamum ingresso, abbati Westmonasteriensi sive alio monacho ad hoc assignato, per manus dictorum regis et reginæ, ut una cum aliis regalibus in dicto monasterio, prout per bullas papales, et regum chartas, ac antiqua et semper observata consuetudine, plenius habetur; quod sit locus regiæ institutionis et coronationis, ac etiam repositorium regalium insignium in perpetuum, sub hac enim ratione in rescriptis papalium privilegiorum et regalium cartarum, ecclesia præfata, scilicet ecclesia beati Petri Westmonasterii, diadema regni nominatur, caput pariter et corona, tanquam ea quæ sola inter ceteras Angliæ ecclesias speciali prærogativa præfulget.

[l] Servit ea die senescallia comes Leceystriæ, licet comes Norfolchiæ illud sibi vendicaverit obsequium. De mappario serviet .*N.* de Hastyng, qui extractas post prandium mappas tanquam suas recipiet. Salarium et cultellos apponet .*N.* de Bello Campo de Dumely, cujus est officium panetariæ. De officio pincernariæ serviet comes de Arundell."

In the above the word "pincerna" or "pincernarius" is thus

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[e] Impositio alterius coronæ capite regis.

[f] Sceptrum.

[g] Comites ut prius.

[h] Conventus habet illo die de rege, etc.

[k] Deliberatio sceptrorum.

[l] Domini servientes in die.

explained by Ducange. "Qui vinum convivis miscet. Catholicon parvum, *Pincerna, Bouteiller*. Joan de Janua. *Pincerna dicitur vini dispensator, vel potius propinator, qui porrigit ex officio poculum domino suo.*"

The word "simila" also occurs, which is thus explained by Ducange. "Simila, ut *simenellus*, panis ex simila, vel etiam placentulæ species, quæ alibi *foliata* dicitur." "Panis similaceus, ex *Simila*, Græcis σεμιδαλίτης, cui secundum inter panes bonitatis locum assignat Galenus *lib.* 1. de aliment. Anglis *simnelbread*. Inde regiis mensis ministrari olim solitus. Liber de situ ecclesiæ Belli in Anglia. *Constituens in primo monachis ejusdem ecclesiæ ad cotidianos usus panem regiæ mensæ aptum, qui Simenel vulgo vocatur*. Bromptonus ann. 1044. "Eo die præcentor loci recipiat de fisco regio dimidiam marcam, et conventus centum simenellos, et unum modium vini." *Glossarium in verb.*

Spelman in his glossary says that the simnels were made of the best, and not of any inferior wheat: "Panis purior, sic dictus, quod a simila, hoc est, puriori farinæ parte efficitur." This certainly would have been a reason why the simnels should be especially given to the monks of Westminster, on the festival of a coronation. At any rate it is to be hoped that, whatever they were made of, they were more tempting to look at, (of the taste I cannot speak) than simnels of the present day, which are really offensive in their appearance; * and cannot but be, as another old writer, Constantinus Africanus, has described them, "very indigestible," although possibly "very nutritious." We must commiserate the daily fare of the convent of Westminster, when simnels, such as these, were an extraordinary treat.

* The town of Devizes, in Wiltshire, has long been famous for these "simnels:" and at present, I am told, they are made of flour, yeast, saffron, currants, and spice. They are first boiled, and afterwards baked.

Officium Coronationis Reginae.

Officium Coronationis Reginae.

DIE quo regina[67] *sola coronanda est, conveniant in palatio regali apud Westmonasterium prælati et nobiles regni, et ordinetur processio per archiepiscopos, episcopos, et prælatos, abbatem et conventum Westm. in capis sericis, et aliis, quia processus requirunt honorificentiam: et sic induti*

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[67] The Pontificals differ in the first rubric of this office: the earlier books are very short in their directions; and some refer to an "Ordo Romanus," not now followed by the pontifical of the Church of Rome, for the benediction "ad introitum," or, "ad ostium ecclesiæ." Thus the imperfect Salisbury pontifical in the Bodleian, the Cotton MS. Tiberius E. viij, and B. viij, (of the xijth century), commence:[a] "*Benedictio reginæ dicenda in ingressu ecclesiæ secundum ordinem Romanum:* Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, fons, *etc.*" It may be as well to give here, in brief, the full order as it continues in those MSS. "*Post hanc sequitur benedictio dicenda ante altare*: Deus, qui solus habes." (Here the Bodleian MS. is imperfect.) "*Item post hanc in sacri olei unctione sequitur hæc oratio:* Spiritus Sancti gratia humilitatis. *Hic unguatur oleo sancto:* In nomine Patris et Filii. *Hic detur annulus.* Accipe annulum. *Sequitur oratio.* Deus cujus est. *Benedictio coronæ.* Deus tuorum corona. *Item in eodem ordine, ad coronæ impositionem. Postquam benedicta fuerit, coronabitur.* Accipe coronam. "The MS. Tib. B. viij. alone adds: "*Alia.* Officio indignitatis nostræ. *Oratio.* Omnium Domine fons bonorum."

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[a] To these may be added, the Evesham Pontifical, before cited: which has the same rubric: but the authority of that MS. (an *abbatial* pontifical, it must be remembered) is very much lessened by its constant mixture of, and reference to, in many offices, other Uses: not only the Roman, but the Gallican.

reginæ coronandæ processionaliter occurrant in palatio antedicto.

In the Order of K. Edwd. II. we find this benediction, but, as in the text, no reference is made to the "Ordo Romanus." It seems now to have become a settled part of the English Office, and not requiring any longer an external authority. "*Ad benedictionem sive consecrationem reginæ, dicetur ab episcopo ad ingressum ecclesiæ oratio.* Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, fons *etc.*" This Order generally corresponds, except in the shortness of its rubrics, with the text: and I shall mark the chief variations as we proceed.

In the Order of K. Henry I., with which, generally, agrees the Winchester pontifical, this benediction is omitted altogether: whence we may conclude that it was introduced very shortly after his time: the earliest MS. in which I have seen it, being that cited above, Tiberius B. viij. It will be well, in this case as before, to give at once the whole arrangement at this date. A.D. 1100.

"*Benedictio reginæ quæ ab episcopo in ecclesia, coram optimatibus, ante altare facienda est. Oratio.* Deus qui solus habes. *Hic effundatur oleum sanctum super verticem ejus in modum crucis, dicente episcopo:* In nomine Patris, *etc. Sequatur oratio.* Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, affluentem. *Hic detur annulus, dicente episcopo:* Accipe annulum. *Sequatur oratio.* Deus cujus est omnis. *Benedictio coronæ regiæ.* Deus tuorum corona. *Hic coronetur.* Accipe coronam. *Sequatur oratio.* Omnium, Domine, fons bonorum."

Lastly, we have the very valuable and important order of K. Ethelred, which has a rubric at the beginning of somewhat greater length, and of no little interest.

"*Finit consecratio regis.*" *See above, Note* 54. "*Quam sequitur consecratio reginæ, quæ propter honorificentiam ab episcopo sacri unguinis oleo super verticem perfundenda est, et in ecclesia coram optimatibus cum condigno honore et regia celsitudine, in regalis thori consortium, benedicenda et consecranda est; quæ etiam annulo pro integritate fidei, et corona pro æternitatis gloria decoranda est.*

Incipit consecratio reginæ: ab episcopo dicenda est: In nomine Patris *etc. Oratio.* Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, affluentem. *Hic detur ei annulus.* Accipe annulum. *Alia.* Deus cujus est. *Hic coronetur.* Accipe coronam. *Alia.* Omnium, Domine, fons bonorum."

Quæ quidem regina induta erit tunica, et cyclade[68] *cum fimbria longa et defluenti; quæ quidem tunica et cyclas unius erunt coloris, videlicet purpurei, et unius texturæ, sine opere aliquo alio artificiali desuper intexto: capite nudato, laxatos circa humeros decenter habens crines, gestabit circulum aureum gemmis ornatum, ut honestius crines capiti ejus constringantur.*

Hanc sic ornatam præcedet rex regalibus suis indutus, si præsens esse placuerit, tunc subsequentur duo magnates, quorum primus præcedens portabit sceptrum reginæ. Alius vero reginæ portabit coronam, quos subsequetur regina, quam reverenter hinc inde sustentabunt duo episcopi ad hoc per regem assignati: et ibi erunt barones quinque portuum,[69] *qui pannum sericum quadratum ac purpureum, qui alias umbraculum nomi-*

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[68] "*Cyclas.* Vestis undique clausa per extremum ambitum, sinuosa, et dum terram verrebat, circulum quempiam efficiens, unde nomen a Græco κύκλος inditum videtur.——Cyclas proprie feminarum fuit. Britannicus ad Sat. 6. Juven. *Cyclas vestis est muliebris tenuissima et rotunda.* Hanc pronubis tribuit Sidonius. *l.* 1. *epist.* 4. Regino an. 753. *Sed et Bertradam conjugem ipsius regis, indutam cycladibus regiis.* Et Monachus Pegaviensis, an. 1096. *Juditha comitissa, filia Wratislai Boiemici regis, coronata, et auro textis induviis regaliter adornata, processit, et coronam auro gemmisque insignitam, et cycladem auro textam, instar dalmaticæ, et pretiosissimi operis, quam sub mantello ferebat, etiam auro texto induta.* Cosmas Pragensis an. 1086. *Et imposuit diudema super caput ipsius, et ejus conjugis cyclade regia amictæ.*" Ducange, *in verb.*

[69] "These 'barons' are the Free men of the ports, and the number deputed by each of the towns is as follows:—for Hastings, 3; Dover, 2; Hithe, 2; Rye, 2; Sandwich, 3; Romney, 2; Winchelsea, 2; the same with either canopy." *Taylor's Glory of Regality. p.* 139.

The same writer says, "the claim of the cinque-ports is founded on a prescriptive right, recognized by the charter of King Charles II., in which 'considera-

natur, quatuor hastis deargentatis sustentatum, cum quatuor campanellis argenteis, et deauratis, ultra regem incedentem quocunque ierit gestabunt. Ad quamlibet hastam quatuor assignati, per diversitatem portuum, ne videatur portus portui præferri. Eodem modo ultra reginam coronandam a totidem baronibus portabitur pannus consimilis, cum totidem hastis et campanellis aliis consimilibus.

Pannum vero stragulatum[70] *prosternendum sub pe-*

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tion is had' of 'the most pleasing and acceptable service which the barons of the Cinque Ports and of the antient towns aforesaid have performed and paid to us at our inauguration to the crown of this our kingdom of England, according as in times past they did and were bound to do, to our progenitors the kings and queens of England at their respective coronations, the time of the contrary being never remembered to have been.'" *Great and antient charter of the Cinque-Ports.* 12mo. 1682. *p.* 68.

The barons are said to have carried the "umbraculum" at the coronation of K. Kichard I.: Matthew Paris speaks of them at the coronation of Henry III.—"Custodibus vero quinque portuum, pallam super regem cum quatuor hastis supportantibus; quod tamen tunc scrupulo contentionis penitus non carebat." *Hist. Angl. p.* 355. Whence we may conclude that they then *proved* their right. I shall only quote further from Holinshed's Chronicle, in the account of the coronation of Henry VIII. and Katherine of Arragon: "this noble prince with his queene at time convenient, under their canopies borne by the barons of the five ports, went from the said palace to Westminster Abbaie upon cloth, called vulgarly cloth of raie; the which cloth was cut and spoiled by the rude and common people, immediately after their repaire into the abbaie." *Vol.* 3. *p.* 801.

Henry de Knyghton states, that the privileges of the cinque-ports were first granted to them by K. John, on condition of their providing at all times, upon reasonable notice, ships for him to pass over into Normandy, or elsewhere: "Causa cujus dotationis adhuc clamant liberiores esse præ cæteris portubus omnibus regni Angliæ." *Chronica.* Hist. Angl. Script. *Tom.* 2. *col.* 2424.

[70] "Stragulatus pannus; di-

dibus regis et reginæ, incedentium ab aula vel camera sua usque in pulpitum,[n] *sterni faciat qui habet officium eleemosynariæ regiæ et regum et reginarum coronationibus ab antiquo. Pars autem panni illius quæ est in ecclesia semper cedet in usus sacristæ loci, et reliqua pars tota extra ecclesiam distribuetur pauperibus per manus dicti eleemosynarii.*

Hiis sic ordinatis et dispositis, regem et reginam processionaliter in ecclesiam ducant: ad cujus ecclesiæ introitum, ab archiepiscopo vel episcopo reginam coronaturo, dicetur super eandem reginam hæc oratio:

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, fons et origo totius bonitatis, qui feminei sexus fragilitatem nequaquam reprobando avertis, sed dignanter comprobando potius eligis, et qui infirma mundi eligendo fortia quæque confundere decrevisti, quique in gloriæ virtutisque tuæ triumphum in manu Judith feminæ olim Judaicæ plebi de hoste sævissimo designare voluisti, respice quæsumus ad preces humilitatis nostræ, et super hanc famulam tuam, quam supplici devotione in reginam eligimus, bene✠dictionum tuarum dona multiplica, eamque dextera tuæ pietatis semper et ubique circumda, sitque umbone tui muneris undique firmiter protecta, quatenus visibilis hostis nequitias triumphaliter expugnare valeat, et una cum Sara atque Rebecca, Lya, Rachele, beatisque reverendis feminabus, fructu uteri sui fœcundari seu gratulari mereatur, ad decorem

verso colore variatus. Chart. an. 8. Henr. VI. Reg. Angl. apud *Madox* in form. Anglic. *p.* 145. *Et prædictus Ricardus habebit —pannum stragulatum continentem xx rayes, etc.*" "Stragulum, vestis discolor plumario opere facta." Ducange: *Glossarium.*

This, in short, was the "cloth of raie" of Holinshed, in the place cited in the preceding note.

n "Infra ecclesiam Westm." *Liber Regalis.*

totius regni, statumque sanctæ Dei ecclesiæ regendum, per Christum Dominum nostrum, qui ex intemeratæ Mariæ beatæ virginis alvo nasci, et visitare et renovare hunc dignatus est mundum, qui tecum vivit et gloriatur Deus, in unitate Spiritus Sancti, per immortalia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Oratione finita, procedet regina[72] *ut primitus incedebat, processionaliter, per medium chori usque ad gradus magni altaris, prædictis duobus episcopis ipsam interim*

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[72] "Oratione hac finita, procedent rex et regina, ut primitus incedebant, processionaliter per medium chori, usque in pulpitum quo cum ascenderint residebit rex, regalibus amictus, in sede regali sibi præparata. Regina vero procedet ad gradus magni altaris. etc." *Lib. Regalis.* As it has been observed in the preliminary dissertation, this MS. supposes, throughout the Office, the presence of the king.

The imperfect *Harleian* MS. 561, before referred to, (see Note [1]) has here a long rubric.

"Oratione completa, procedant rex et regina per ecclesiam modo quo supra dictum est, usque ad pulpitum et ad solia eis præparata, ac rege pro sua sancta unctione et coronatione usque ad altare descendente, præfata regina dictis proceribus cum sceptro, virga, et corona ipsam præcedentibus, præfatis episcopis illam, ut prædictum est, hinc inde sustentantibus, usque ad dictum altare regem subsequetur. Cui faldistorium a parte sinistra dicti altaris erit præparatum, in quo ipsa residebit dum de legibus et regni consuetudinibus et aliis, ut supra dictum est, per metropolitanum sive episcopum dictos regem et reginam consecraturum fuerit requisitum: dictis requisitionibus actis, sacramentoque, ut supra dictum est, super altare præstito, regina genuflectet, pro rege domino suo et pro seipsa humiles Deo fundens preces, incipiente metropolitano, vel episcopo, hymnum: 'Veni Creator Spiritus,' cum nota. Rege itaque inuncto et coronato, atque coronationis suæ solemniis celebratis modo et forma quibus prædictum est, in solio suo residente, regina procedat ad gradus magni altaris, et prosternet se super tapetum et quissinos prius per regios ministros, modo quo prædictum est, et honeste, præparatos: super quam ita solo prostratam dicetur a metropolitano sive episcopo ipsam consecraturo orationem sequentem. [*sic.*] 'Deus qui solus.'"

sustentantibus; quæ cum ad gradus magni altaris pervenerit, prosternet se super tapeta et quissinos, prius ibidem per regios ministros honeste præparatos, archiepiscopo vel episcopo incipiente: [73]

Ps. Veni Creator Spiritus.

Deinde super ipsam ita prostratam, dicatur hæc oratio:

Deus, qui solus habes immortalitatem, lucemque inhabitas inaccessibilem, cujus providentia in sui dispositione non fallitur, qui fecisti quæ futura sunt, et vocas ea quæ non sunt tanquam ea quæ sunt, qui superbos æquo moderamine de principatu dejicis, atque humiles dignanter in sublime provehis, ineffabilem misericordiam tuam supplices exoramus, ut sicut reginam Hester, causa Judaicæ salutis, de captivitatis suæ compede solutam, ad regis Assueri thalamum regnique sui consortium transire fecisti, ita hanc famulam tuam .*N.* humilitatis nostræ bene✠dictione, Christianæ plebis gratia salutis, ad dignam sublimemque regis nostri copulam misericorditer transire concedas, ut in regalis fœdere conjugii semper manens pudica, proximam virginitati palmam continere queat, tibique, Deo vivo et vero, in omnibus et super omnia jugiter placere desideret, et, te inspirante, quæ tibi placita sunt toto corde perficiat: per Dominum.

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[73] The Order of K. Edwd. II., and the Exeter pontifical, omit the Ps. Veni Creator, and the first thus continues after the prayer "Omnipotens." "*Item alia benedictio ejusdem, coram optimatibus, ante altare dicenda:* Dominus vobiscum. *Oratio.* Deus qui solus habes. *Hic effundatur oleum sanctum super verticem ejus in modum crucis, dicente episcopo:* In nomine Patris. *etc.* Omnipotens sempiterne Deus affluentem." The Exeter MS. also mentions only the anointing of the head. The Bodley MS. *Rawl. C.* 425. reads "effundetur sanctum chrisma."

Terminata autem[74] *hac oratione, eriget se regina et genuflectet; super cujus verticem effundetur sanctum oleum*[75] *in modum crucis. Postea de eodem oleo ungetur in pectore, modo consimili, in modum crucis; ad utramque unctionem tam capitis quam pectoris, dicetur a pontifice consecrante:*

In nomine Patris ✠, et Filii ✠, et Spiritus ✠ Sancti, prosit tibi hæc unctio olei in honorem et confirmationem æternam, in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Circulo quem in capite gestaverat prius deposito.

Tunc subjungetur oratio sequens:

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, affluentem spiritum tuæ bene✠dictionis, super famulam tuam, nobis orantibus, propitiatus infunde, ut quæ per manus nostræ impositionem hodie regina instituitur, sanctificatione tua digna et electa permaneat, ut nunquam postmodum de tua gratia separetur indigna. Per.

Hoc proviso,[76] *quod tunica reginæ sic fiat quod per consecrantem, ante sanctam pectoris unctionem, facile possit aperiri, et a nobiliori domina, quæ dictæ reginæ*

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74 The Evesham pontifical has here an additional prayer.

"*Item post hanc in sacri olei unctione sequitur hæc oratio:*

"Spiritus Sancti gratia, humilitatis nostræ officio, in te copiosa descendat, ut sicut manibus nostris indignis oleo materiali oblita pinguescis exterius, ita ejus invisibili unguine delibuta inpinguari merearis interius, ejusque spiritali unctione perfectissime semper imbuta, et illicita declinare tota mente, et spernere disceas seu valeas, et utilia animæ tuæ jugiter cogitare, optare, atque operari queas, auxiliante Domino nostro Jesu Christo. Qui cum Deo Patre. *etc.*

"*Hic unguatur oleo sancto.* In nomine Patris, *etc.* *Oratio.* Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, affluentem, *etc.*"

75 "—— in modum crucis: dicente episcopo." *Lib. Regalis.*

76 From hence to "Accipe annulum" is omitted in the Liber Regalis, in the Order for the coronation of a queen alone: but in the Office which precedes, viz.: of a king and queen, the whole occurs as in the text.

semper adhærebit, post dictam unctionem recludi: deinde detur ei annulus a consecrante, dicente sic, si prius fuerit benedictus: sin autem, benedicatur modo subscripto sic:

Dominus vobiscum.

Oremus.

Creator, et conservator humani generis, dator gratiæ spiritualis, largitor æternæ salutis, tu, Domine, mitte benedictionem tuam sanctam super hunc annulum, ut quæ illum gestaverit sit armata virtute cœlestis defensionis, et perficiat illi ad æternam salutem. Per Christum Dominum nostrum.

Oratio.

Bene✠dic, Domine, hunc annulum, quem nos in tuo sancto nomine bene✠dicimus, ut quæcunque eum portaverit in tua pace consistat, et in tua voluntate permaneat, et in amore tuo vivat et senescat, et multiplicetur in longitudinem dierum: per Christum.

Tunc aspergatur annulus aqua benedicta, et detur ab episcopo reginæ, sic dicente:

Accipe annulum fidei, signaculum sinceritatis,[77] quo possis omnes hæreticas pravitates devitare, et barbaras gentes virtute Dei premere, et ad agnitionem veritatis advocare.

Deinde sequatur oratio.

Dominus vobiscum.

Oremus.

Deus cujus est omnis potestas.

Ut supra in coronatione regis.

Postea benedicetur corona ab eodem præsule, dicente:

Deus tuorum corona.

Ut supra in coronatione regis.

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[77] "Signaculum sanctæ Trinitatis." *Order of K. Ethelred.*

Deinde imponatur corona capiti reginæ ab eodem episcopo, dicente:

Accipe coronam gloriæ, honorem jocunditatis, ut splendida fulgeas et æterna exultatione coroneris.

Primitus pileo lineo capiti reginæ apposito, ob sanctæ unctionis conservationem, quod postea comburetur.

Tunc subinferet episcopus. Oratio.

Officio nostræ indignitatis[78] in reginam solemniter benedicta, accipe coronam regalis excellentiæ, quæ licet ab indignis, episcopalibus tamen manibus capiti tuo imponitur: unde sicut exterius auro et gemmis redimita enites, ita et interius auro sapientiæ, virtutumque gemmis decorari contendas, quatenus post occasum hujus sæculi cum prudentibus virginibus sponso perenni Domino nostro Jesu Christo digne et laudabiliter occurrens, regiam cœlestis aulæ merearis ingredi januam, auxiliante Domino nostro Jesu Christo, qui cum Deo Patre, et Spiritu Sancto, vivit et regnat per infinita sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Et tradendo ei sceptrum in dextra, et virgam in sinistra, dicat hanc orationem sequentem:

Omnium, Domine, fons bonorum, et cunctorum dator profectuum, tribue famulæ tuæ .*N*. adeptam bene regere dignitatem, et a te sibi præstitam bonis operibus corroborare gloriam: per Dominum.

Coronata autem regina,[79] sceptrumque in dextra fe-

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[78] The Pontifical reads "dignitatis:" but I have introduced "indignitatis" into the text, upon the authority of the Royal MS. 12. D. iij., the Liber Regalis, the Order for K. Edwd. ij. and the early MS., Cotton, Tiberius B. viij. The prayer occurs in the Office or the coronation of a queen, in the old "Ordo Romanus;" which reads also "indignitatis."

[79] "Finit consecratio reginæ." Order of K. Edwd. II. "Explicit consecratio reginæ." Royal MS. 12. D. iij.

rens, a duobus prædictis episcopis honorifice ducetur ad solium sibi ex parte regis sinistra præparatum,[80] *choro interim cantante hunc hymnum:*

Te Deum laudamus.

Statim hymno finito, incipiatur officium missæ, et post officium ejusdem missæ[81] *procedet regina coronata ad offerendum.*

Deinde ad sedem suam revertetur, ibique continue usque ad finem missæ residebit.

Completa tandem missa et omnibus rite peractis, præfati duo episcopi, unus a dextris, alius a sinistris, reducent reginam coronatam et sceptrum in manu dextra ferentem, ab ecclesia usque in thalamum sive aulam, præcedente processione, si commode fieri poterit.

The Exeter pontifical adds, "*Tunc detur ei sceptrum dicendo:*

Accipe virgam virtutis et æquitatis, et esto pauperibus misericors et affabilis; viduis, pupillis, et orphanis diligentissimam curam exhibe, ut omnipotens Deus adaugeat tibi gloriam suam, qui vivit. *etc.*"

With which the office in that MS. concludes.

[80] "*Regina vero ad prædictum solium veniens, ante ejus ascensum modicum regi inclinabit, ejus majestatem ut decet adorando. Choro interim hunc hymnum,* Te Deum laudamus: *solemniter concinnente. Statim, etc.*" Liber Regalis.

[81] "*Post offertorium ejusdem missæ.*" Ibid.

Appendix to the Order of Coronation.

I. First Rubric of the Liber Regalis.
II. The Order of Coronation according to the Pontificals of Egbert, Archbishop of York, A. D. 740, and of Leofric, Bishop of Exeter, A. D. 1060.
III. The Order of the Coronation of her Majesty, Queen Victoria.
IV. The Order of the Coronation of her Majesty, Queen Adelaide, as Queen-consort.

Officia in Coronationem
R. Richardi II. M.CCCLXXVII.[1]

HIC est ordo, secundum quem rex debet coronari pariter et inungi.

In primis præparetur pulpitum, aliquantulum eminens, inter magnum altare et chorum ecclesiæ beati Petri Westmonasterii, videlicet contiguum ex omni parte quatuor columnis principalioribus, infra crucem ecclesiæ prælibatæ; ad cujus quidem pulpiti ascensum fiant gradus de medio chori a parte occidentali, per quos princeps coronandus, in adventu suo transiens per chori medium, dictum pulpitum possit ascendere: ac etiam fiant alii gradus a parte orientali, per quos princeps præfatus descendere possit versus majus altare, ibidem ante gradus dicti altaris, sacrosanctæ unctionis ac suæ coronationis solemnia a metropolitano, sive episcopo ipsum consecrando, debita cum devotione accepturus. In medio

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[1] This first appendix is the first rubric of the "Liber Regalis." In the library of the Dean and Canons of Westminster there is a noble manuscript missal, probably the most beautiful copy, of English Use, now extant, of a large size, and richly illuminated; and which was given to the church there, by Abbot Litlington, about the year 1370. This contains several royal services; among them that of the coronation: in almost every respect it agrees with the "Liber regalis," and especially in having this long rubric at the commencement. But it has not the title "Officia, *etc.*" beginning simply with the usual formula "Hic est ordo secundum quem. *etc.*"

The Lansdown MS. 278, is a modern and apparently a correct transcript of the "Liber Regalis:" written in the 17th century.

vero dicti pulpiti erit præparatus thronus excelsus, ut in eo princeps residens, clare ab omnibus possit intueri.

Ungere enim et coronare reges Angliæ atque reginas, ex antiqua consuetudine et hactenus usitata, principaliter competit archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, si præsens fuerit, et si compos extiterit. Et si contigerit quod propter corporis debilitatem, aut infirmitatem, illud officium non poterit in sua persona rite peragere, aut forte aliqua tunc causa impeditus in hujusmodi coronatione non queat præsentialiter interesse, hujusmodi unctionis ac coronationis solemnia supplebit alius, qui inter episcopos tunc præsentes dignior reperitur, aut cui dictus metropolitanus dictum officium velit committere.

Rex autem præcedenti die coronationis suæ, de turri Londonensi per mediam civitatem versus palatium regium West. in cultu decentissimo equitabit, plebi occurrenti se offerens intuendum, capite denudato.

Et prævideatur semper quod coronatio tam regis quam reginæ, fiat in die dominico, vel in festo aliquo solemni.[2]

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[2] The "Dies Dominica" is the day which is specified for this high solemnity in most of the ancient pontificals: and on that day we know that many sovereigns were crowned. Thus, in the year 816, Baronius says of Pope Stephen V. "Die dominica in ecclesia S. Petri, coram clero et omni populo, ante missarum solemnia consecravit et unxit Ludovicum ipsum imperatorem, et coronam——posuit super caput ejus." And Henry of Germany was crowned in the year 1014, upon the same day.

There are very early examples also of coronations upon festivals: Charlemagne was crowned upon Christmas-day, A. D. 801: and, as Hoveden tells us, K. Stephen of England was crowned upon S. Stephen's day, and, not to name others, Henry I. upon the feast of

Memoratus vero princeps nocte præcedente coronationis suæ diem vacabit contemplationi divinæ et orationi intimæ,[3] considerans ad quem apicem sit vocatus qualiter is per quem reges regnant, ad populi sui ac plebis christianæ gubernationem, ipsum specialius præelegit. Et cogitet illud sapientis: 'Principem te constituerunt noli extolli, sed esto in illis quasi unus ex illis.' Et cogitet dignitatem regalem sibi a Deo præstitam, tanquam homini mortali, et ipsum idcirco ad tantam sublimitatem vocatum a Deo, ut ecclesiæ catholicæ sit defensor, fidei Christianæ dilatator, ac regni sui, et patriæ sibi a Deo commissæ, secundum vires protector. In oratione autem Salamonis imitetur prudentiam, cui in sui regno primordio pro cultu Creatoris ab ipso Creatore præceptum est, ut ea peteret quæ sibi vellet conferri. Qui non aurum, non argentum, neque divitias, nec de inimicis victoriam, ut homo juvenis, sibi dari deprecatus est. Sed magis ea postulavit quæ et Deus gratis præberet, et utiliter homo perciperet. 'Redde mihi,' inquit, 'Domine, mentem sanam et prudentiam bonam, ut circa populum justum possim verumque proferre judicium.' Deprecetur igitur princeps

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the assumption. "Consecratus est in regem apud Westmonasterium in die assumptionis B. Mariæ."

[3] The modern Roman pontifical directs: "*Rex triduanum jejunium devote peragit per hebdomadam præcedentem, videlicet quarta, et sexta feria, et sabbato.*" Upon this Catalani remarks: "Fateor, de hoc ritu nihil me invenisse apud antiquos scriptores: conveniens tamen esse videtur, ut rex ad sui inaugurationem, non modo per religiosa jejunia se præparet, sed etiam per alia pia opera. Unde ex MS. pontificali insignis ecclesiæ Senonensis, debet rex sabbato præcedente diem Dominicam, in qua est consecrandus, *intempestæ noctis silentio venire in ecclesiam orationem facturus, et ibidem in oratione aliquantulum, si voluerit, vigilaturus.*" Comment. in Pontif. *tom.* 1. *p.* 372.

ut divinitatis providentia, quæ ipsum ad tanti regimen ordinavit imperii, sibi largiri dignetur justitiam, pietatem, et prudentiam. Justitiam circa subjectos, pietatem circa Deum, et prudentiam circa regni gubernationem, quatenus nullo favore mollitus, nullis inimicitiis commotus, nulla concupiscentia illectus, nullaque alia passione constrictus, in semitis harum virtutum inoffenso pede valeat pertransire.

Et quia oportet principem antedictum de hiis et aliis observantiis, quæ ad dictam spectant coronationem, plenius informari, abbas Westm. qui pro tempore fuerit, in hiis et consimilibus principis erit eruditor, ad ipsum vero hoc officium solummodo spectat. Et si dictus abbas de medio fuerit sublatus, et alius in abbatem ejusdem loci nondum fuerit confirmatus, qui dictum officium rite non poterit adimplere, aut dictus abbas aliunde fuerit impeditus quominus illud officium valeat exequi, tunc eligatur unus ex assensu prioris et conventus dicti monasterii, qui per omnia sit idoneus, dictum principem in hujusmodi observantiis informare, secundum modum et consuetudinem ab antiquissimis temporibus hactenus usitatum.[4]

Die vero præfinito, quo novus rex consecrandus est, summo mane conveniant prælati et nobiles in palatio regio apud Westm. tractaturi de novi regis consecra-

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[4] "*The Abbot of Westmynster shall enforme the kynge.* Also it is to wit that the Abbot of Westmynster, which is for the tyme, two dayes othir before the coronacyon shall enform them of dyuers observaunces that they shall doo and kepe in their coronacion, and warne them to shryue and to clense theire conscience before the hooly anoynting." *Lansdown* MS. 285.

"The abbote of Westm. ought alwey to be nere the kyng for his informacion in such thyngs as concerneth the solempnitee of the Coronacion." *Devyse* for Hen. VIII.

tione, et electione, et de legibus et consuetudinibus regni confirmandis, firmiter statuendis.

Hiis sub universorum concordia peractis, provideatur quod in aula regia majori sedes eminens sit, pannis sericis et inauratis decenter ornata, super quem dictus rex regnaturus cum omni mansuetudine et reverentia elevetur, ipso tamen prius ut moris est balneato et induto mundissimis vestibus, et caligis tantummodo calciato.[5]

Hoc modis omnibus observato, quod sicut in principe per actualem lotionem et vestimentorum decorem corpus nitescit, sic per veram et præviam confessionem ac compunctionis dolorem anima ipsa splendescat.

Hiis debite peractis, ordinetur in ecclesia per archiepiscopos, episcopos, abbatem, et conventum Westm. processio in capis sericis, cum textibus,[6] et thuribulis, et aliis quæ processioni conveniunt; et sic induti processio

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[5] Hence we learn the proper meaning of the term "barefooted" in the old chronicles, when applied to this royal procession; which has been much mistaken by various writers. Thus, for example, in a modern popular, and rather superficial book, *Knight's London*, we are told of Richard the Third's coronation, that "perhaps the most striking feature of the event, is Richard's exhibition of humility,—he actually walked *barefoot* into the Abbey." *Vol.* 4. *p.* 91. No authority is given for this statement, but it is to be traced to Grafton: who says, "from thence the king and the queene goyng vpon raye cloth barefooted, *etc.*" *Vol.* 2. *p.* 115. But the meaning both of Grafton and of the rubric in the text is, that the king was not to wear sandals, or soles, but buskins only. Prynne, in his *Signal Loyalty*, has printed a "Forma coronationis regum et reginarum Angliæ," said to have been extracted from the Liber Regalis, but whether by himself or not, does not appear: it certainly differs from it. However, one sentence explains the meaning of "barefoot." "Item dicto die princeps coronandus——tantummodo caligis sine sotularibus calcietur." *p.* 242.

[6] See above: p. 4, note 1.

naliter occurrant in palatio antedicto.[7] Etenim regni prælatis et conventui Westm. solum pertinet regi futuro cum processionis solempnitate occurrere, et ipsum in ecclesiam prædictam psallendo antecedere, ea decantantes quæ in receptione regum debent decantari. Et faciet dominus . *N.* de Bellocampo Bedefordiæ, qui ab antiquo eleemosynariæ regiæ habet officium, pannum virgulatum,[8] sive burellum, prosterni sub pedibus regis incedentis a palatio usque pulpitum antedictum infra ecclesiam Westm., ut prætactum est, præparatum.

Quod quidem pulpitum una cum gradibus, ex utraque parte ejusdem existentibus, tapetis[9] per regios ministros ad hoc præparatis sterni debet per totum.

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[7] In the letter of archbishop Cranmer, mentioned above in the dissertation, giving an account of the coronation of Anne Boleyn, is the following: "In the mornynge ther assymbled withe me at Westminster Churche the bysshop of Yorke, *etc.* the abbote of Westminstre with x or xij moo abbottes, whiche all revestred ourselfs in our pontificalibus, and, soo furnysshed, with our crosses and crossiers, procedid oute of th' abbey in a procession vnto Westminstre Hall, where we receyved the Queene, *etc.*" *Archæologia, vol.* 18. *p.* 80.

[8] See above, note 70, p. 53. I may here add the following. "The prynce shall follow the procession into the chirche. And he shall go vpon newe ray cloth laide vnder his fete." *Lansdown* MS. 285.

"The way from thense [*the Hall*] to the pulpytt in Westm. chirche arrayed vnder foote with raye cloth by the king's grete Awmoner of England, to be had of the king's greate Warderobe." *Devyse* for Hen. VIII.

[9] The Lansdown MS.285, contains "The maner and forme of the kyngis and quenes coronacion in Englonde." I shall have occasion to cite this again, and shall refer to it, as before, by its number in the catalogue. Upon "*the pulpite*" it directs:

"Also in Westmynster chirche must be ordeynde a pulpit with grees on euery side. And that must be faire araide with clothes of silke, of golde, and aboute on the grounde both. *The Kynges Trone.* Also in that pulpit shall be a Roiall trone. And a Roiall see in the which the kyng shall sit. And it shall also bee roially

In circuitu vero summitatis pulpiti dependentur panni serici et inaurati. Thronus vero in quo rex ipse residere debet, de quo prætactum est, palliis sericis ac pretiosissimis predicti regis camerarios[10] per totum erit coopertus, quissinis etiam per nominatos camerarios in præfato throno repositis.

Pars autem panni illius virgulati, sive burelli, quæ per dictum eleemosynarium, ut præfatum est, sub pedibus regis incedentis extenditur, infra ecclesiam cedet semper in usus sacristæ loci, et reliqua pars tota quæ est extra ecclesiam distribuetur pauperibus per manus eleemosynarii supradicti.

Regem igitur coronandum, dictis prælatis ac monachis præcedentibus, episcopus Dunelm. videlicet et Bathon. ex antiqua consuetudine, si præsentes affuerint, dictum regem hinc inde sustentabunt. Cancellarius vero, si fuerit episcopus,[11] tum calice lapideo

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araide with quysshyns, and clothes of gold and silke."

The "Devyse" for K. Henry VIII. states: "The pulpit is to be couered with rede worsted. In the middes wherin must be two sieges royall" [for himself and queen Katherine] "with cloth of golde and quysshyns of the same. Save it is to wite, that the king's siege shall be made a good deal higher than the quenes, whiche shall be on the lyfte hande of the kyngis, and lower than it."

A very ancient, if not contemporary, English account of the coronation of Henry VI. also speaks of the pulpit to be covered in the same way, with red cloth. "And than he was leyde upon the high scaffolde; and that was couered all with red say, betwen the high autere and the quere." *MS. Cotton.* Nero. C. ix. *fol.* 172.

10 "per dicti regis camerarios." *Abbot Litlington's missal.*

11 The order respecting this, in the "Devyse" for Henry VIII., furnishes a curious specimen of confusion of language. "Next before the king the bishop chaunceler of England, then being William Warham bishop of Canterbury, yf he be a bishop, shall bere the chales. And in case he be noo bisshop, some other bisshop

sancti Edwardi, qui est de regalibus,[12] pontificalibus indutus regem immediate est præcessurus. Quem cum patena thesaurarius, si episcopus fuerit, vel abbas, modo consimili pro more antecedat, pontificaliter indutus, dictamque patenam honorifice eodem modo tenebit, quo patena a subdiacono inter secreta missæ ante altare in altum teneri solet.[13] Si vero contigerit dictos cancellarium et thesaurarium episcopos non esse, alii per regem assignentur episcopi, qui modo prædicto pontificaliter induti, cum dictis calice et patena regem in dicta processione, modo prædicto, antecedant. Et modo conformi assignentur duo alii episcopi, qui regem

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to be appoynted to bere the patente."

This would indeed be puzzling, if we had not the exposition of our text; which is borne out by the following:

"*The beryng of seynt Edwardis chalis.* Also the Caunceller of Englond, yf he be a bisshop, in his pontificall aray, shall bere before the kyng in his procession the seide Chalys, for a grete rialtee and solempnitee.

"*The beryng of the Paten.* Also the Tresourer of Englonde, yif he bee a bisshop, in the pontificall aray, shall bere the patene before the kyng in procession, and hee shall goo before the Chaunceller." *Lansdown* MS. 285.

12 "The grete solempne chales of seynt Edward, the which chales by seynte Edwardis dayes was preyesed xxxM[l]. marc." *Account of coron. of Hen. VI.*

"The abbot of Westm. shall mynister to hym the wyne of a stone Chalys of the Regalies." *Lansdown* MS. 285.

13 I must refer the reader to my work on the "Ancient Liturgy," *p.* 59, *Note* 73 (2nd edit.) From the reference in the text above, it would seem that, at least in the church of Westminster, the custom of the subdeacon to receive and hold the paten, was then observed in England.

Among the ornaments and furniture given by Abbot Godfrey to his church at Peterborough, A. D. 1316, were, "magno altari quinque velamina de albo serico cum aurifrigio ornata, pro patenario in principalibus festis patenam deportandam." *Walter de Whytleseye:* Cœnobii Burgensis Hist. (*Edit.* Sparkes. Lond. 1723. *p.* 169.)

sustentent, si dicti episcopi Dunelmensis et Bathonensis non fuerint tunc præsentes.

Post hos vero qui dictos calicem et patenam gerunt, duo duces sive comites regni excellentiores, et maxime qui jure propinquitatis stirpi regiæ proximius videntur pertinere, immediate subsequentur, quorum unus sceptrum regium, in cujus summitate crux parva collocatur, portabit, alter vero eorum virgam auream, habentem in summitate columbam. Quæ quidem, calicem, patenam, sceptrum, et virgam, tradet abbas Westm. vel prior, si abbas non fuerit, dictis dominis infra palatium antedictum. Qui domini illa omnia in processione gestabunt, modo quo præostensum est.

Deinde sequentur tres comites gladios gestantes induti serico, comes quidem Cestriæ, qui primatum vendicat deferendi, portabit gladium qui vocatur curtana. Et alium portabit comes Huntyngtoun. Tertium vero portabit comes Warwyk. Hos præcedet unus de magnatibus, ad hoc per regem assignatus, portans calcaria magna et deaurata.

Pannum de serico quadratum purpureum, quatuor hastis deargentatis sustentatum, cum quatuor campanellis argenteis et deauratis, ultra regem quocunque ierit, gestabunt barones de quinque portubus, ad quamlibet hastam quatuor assignati pro diversitate portuum, ne videatur portus portui præferri. Et similiter ab eisdem baronibus portabitur pannus de serico, ultra reginam post regem incedentem, si ipsa die debeat coronari. Quos pannos iidem barones de jure consuetudinis obtinebunt, sed hastæ cum campanellis debentur ecclesiæ Westm.: ac pulpitum, et omnia tapeta infra eundem, una cum pannis sericis et quissinis ibi, ut prædictum est, per ministros regis collocata, rema-

nebunt penes ecclesiam, in qua dictus rex coronatur, ex jure antiquo et consuetudine.

Hiis omnibus, in quo[14] latius prætactum est, quæ processioni conveniunt rite ordinatis, episcopi et alii prælati, una cum regni proceribus et prædicto conventu Westm., præfatum regem coronandum, a palatio suo Westm. in ecclesiam beati Petri Westm. ducant; ipsoque introducto per medium chori, atque in pulpito in sede sibi apta collocato, metropolitanus sive episcopus regem coronaturus, per quatuor partes dicti pulpiti plebem alloquatur, ipsorum inquirens voluntatem et consensum de dicti principis consecratione; rege interim in sede sua stante, atque ad quatuor partes dicti pulpiti, dum pontifex plebem alloquitur, se vertente;[15] quibus ut moris est consentientibus, atque voce magna

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14 "modo quo." *Litlington's missal.*

15 "*The archebisshope shall aske the will of the people.* Also when the prynce hath rested hym a litel in his chaire, othir [*or*] Throne ordeynde in the seide pulpit, than the archebisshop of Canterbury at iiij parties of the pulpit, with an high voice, shall enquere the will of the people, as touchyng the kynges coronacion. And that while shal the prynce stonde in his Trone or Chaier, and turne hym also to the parties of the people. And aftir that questyon shall an anteme be soong of *Firmetur manus.*" *Lansdown* MS. 285.

"And he was set in his astate in the myddes of the scaffold, there beholdynge the people all abowte sadly and wysely.* Than made the erchbishop of Caunterbery a proclamation on the iiij quarters of the scaffold, seyeing in this wyse: Sirs, heere comyth Henry, kyng Henrye's sone the Vth, on whos sowle God haue mercy. Amen. He homblyth hym to God and to holy cherche, askyng the crowne of this reame by right and defence of herytage: if ye hold ye pays (?) with hym say, yea, and holde vp handes. And than all the people cried with oon voyce, ye, ye." *Account of coron. of Henry VI.*

"This done, the cardynall as

* Henry VI. was not ten years old. For the meaning of "sad" in this place, see *vol.* 2. *p.* 29. *note* 75.

et unanimi proclamantibus 'fiat fiat' et 'vivat Rex,' nomen dicti regis gratissime nominantes, tunc a choro decantetur hæc antiphona. 'Firmetur manus tua et exaltetur dextera tua. *etc.*'

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archbisshop of Caunterbury, shewing the king to the people at the iiij parties of the seid pulpyt, shall seye in this wyse. Sirs, here present Henry, rightfull and vndoubted enheritour by the lawes of God and man, to the coronne and royall dignite of England, with all things therunto annexed and apperteyning: Electe, chosen, and required by all the thre estates of this lande, to take vppon hym the seid coronne and royall dignitie. Whervppon ye shall vnderstonde, that this daye is prefixed and appoynted by all the Pyers of the lande, for the consecration, envnction, and coronacion of the seid moost excellent Prince Henry. Woll ye serue at this tyme, and geve your wills and assents to the same consecration, envnction, and coronacion? Wherunto the people shall say with a grete voyce: Ye, ye, ye. So be it, Kyng Henry. King Henry." *Devyse for Henry VIII.*

Missa pro regibus in die Benedictionis ejus.[1]

ANT. Justus es, Domine, et rectum.

Psal. Beati immaculati.

Deus regnorum omnium et Christiani maxime protector imperii, da servo tuo, regi nostro N. triumphum virtutis suæ scienter excolere, ut cujus constitutione sunt principes, ejus semper munere sint potestates.

Lectio libri Levitici.

Hæc dicit Dominus Deus: Dabo pacem in finibus

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[1] This coronation service is probably not only the most ancient of English Use, but the most ancient extant in the world. It is found in the pontifical of Archbishop Egbert, and now reprinted from the collection by *Martene*, in his great work, " De antiquis ecclesiæ ritibus." *Tom.* 2. *p.* 214. In the notes will be given a sufficiently complete collation of the Coronation Service, as it is in the famous (so called) Leofric missal, preserved in the Bodleian library. So that I believe I may now venture to assure the student, that he has before him in this volume, a series, to be unequalled by the collections of any other country, of the Orders of Coronation. They extend over a period of more than eleven hundred years. By means of the present appendix, giving the earliest and the latest Forms, he will be able to discover the changes which took place previous to the coronation of Ethelred; he will observe that even after that time, according to the Use of some Churches in England, the new form had not been adopted, or, to speak perhaps more correctly, had not been authorised or approved; and he will trace its gradual approach to the finished Order of the Liber Regalis, through the intermediate stages of its growth in the respective ages of the Winchester and Exeter pontificals.

vestris; dormietis et non est qui extereat; auferam malas bestias, et gladius non transibit terminos vestros: Persequimini inimicos vestros, et corruent coram vobis; et persequentur quinque de vestris centum alienos, et centum ex vobis decem millia; cadentque inimici vestri in conspectu vestro gladio; respiciam vos, et crescere faciam, et multiplicabimini, et firmabo pactum meum vobiscum, dicit Dominus omnipotens.

Grad. Salvum fac servum tuum.

Vers. Auribus percipe, Domine.

Alleluja.

Magnus Dominus. *Vel.* Domine in virtute tua.

Sequentia S. Evangelii secundum Matthæum.

In illo tempore. Abeuntes Pharisæi consilium.

Benedictio super regem noviter electum:[2]

Te invocamus, Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, æterne Deus, *etc. ut supra. p.* 12.

Alia:

Deus qui populis tuis. *ut supra. p.* 17.

Alia:

In diebus ejus oriatur omnibus æquitas,[3] *etc.*

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[2] Here the Order in the Leofric MS. begins: omitting the preceding collect, gradual, &c. which belonged to the service of the communion. Its first rubric is, "*Benedictiones super regem noviter electum.* Te invocamus, *etc.*"

[3] *Martene* refers for this prayer to an ancient French Order of coronation: I give it now from the Leofric MS.

"In diebus ejus oriatur omnibus æquitas et justitia, amicis adjutorium, inimicis obstaculum, humilibus solatium, elevatis correptio, divitibus doctrina, pauperibus pietas, peregrinis auxilium, propriis in patria pax et securitas, unicuique secundum mensuram suam moderate gubernans se ipsum sedulus discat, ut tua irrigatus compunctione toti populo tibi placita præbere vitæ possit exempla, et per viam veritatis cum grege sibi subdito gradiens, opes fragiles abundanter acquirat, simul et salutem non solum corporum sed etiam cordium a te concessam

Hic verget oleum cum cornu super caput ipsius cum antiphona: Unxerunt Salomonem, *et Psal.* Domine in virtute tua. *Unus ex pontificibus dicat orationem, et alii unguant.*[4]

Deus electorum fortitudo, *etc.*

Hic omnes pontifices cum principibus dant ei sceptrum in manu.[5]

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cunctis accipiat. Sicque vitæ [?] cogitatum animi consiliumque omne componens, plebis gubernacula cum pace simul et sapientia semper invenire videatur, teque auxiliante præsentis vitæ prolixitatem percipiat, et per tempora bona usque ad summam senectutem perveniat, hujusque fragilitatis finem perfectum, ab omnibus vitiorum vinculis tuæ pietatis largitate liberatus, et infinitæ prosperitatis præmia perpetua, angelorumque æterna commercia consequatur. Per."

This prayer occurs also in the "Benedictional" or, as it should rather have been called, "Pontifical" of Archbishop Robert of Canterbury; and of which an account is given in the *Archæologia, vol.* 24. *p.* 118. This MS. is preserved in the public library at Rouen.

[4] The Leofric MS. omits this rubric, and proceeds at once to the prayer "Deus electorum:" with the title, "*Alia.*" I again transcribe this prayer from that manuscript. It has been already stated that it occurs in the Form of King Ethelred, but in a part of that MS. unhappily imperfect.

"Deus electorum fortitudo et humilium celsitudo, qui in primordio per effusionem diluvii crimina mundi castigare, et per columbam ramum olivæ portantem pacem terris redditam demonstrasti, iterumque Aaron famulum tuum per unctionem olei sacerdotem sanxisti, et postea per hujus unguenti infusionem ad regendum populum Israeliticum sacerdotes, reges, et prophetas perfecisti, vultumque ecclesiæ in oleo exhilarandum per propheticam famuli tui vocem David esse prædixisti: ita quæsumus, omnipotens Pater, ut per hujus creaturæ pinguedinem hunc servum tuum sanctificare tua benedictione digneris, eumque in similitudinem columbæ pacem simplicitatis populo sibi subdito præstare, et exempla Aaron in Dei servitio diligenter imitari, regumque vestigia in consiliis scientiæ et æquitate judicii semper assequi, vultumque hilaritatis per hanc olei unctionem tuamque benedictionem, te adjuvante, commissæ plebi paratum habere facias. Per."

[5] The Leofric MS. has merely "*Benedictio.*"

Benedic, Domine, hunc præsulem principem, qui regna regum omnium a sæculo moderaris. Amen.

Et tali eum benedictione glorifica, ut Davidicum teneat sublimitatis sceptrum salutis, ut sanctificatus protinus reperiatur in merita. Da ei a tuo spiramine cum mansuetudine ita regere populum sicut Salomonem fecisti regnum obtinere pacificum. Amen.

Tibi semper cum tremore sit subditus, tibique militet, cum regno sit tuo clypeo protectus cum proceribus, et ubique maneat sine pugna victor. Amen.

Sis ei contra acies inimicorum lorica, in adversis galea, in prosperis patientia, in protectione clypeus sempiternus. Amen.

Vivat inter gentium catervas magnanimus. Sit ei in judiciis æquitas singularis. Amen.

Locupletet eum tua prædita dextra, frugalem contineat patriam, et suis liberis tribuat profutura. Amen.

Da ei prolixitatem vitæ per tempora, et in diebus ejus oriatur justitia. Amen.

A te robustum teneat regiminis solium, ut cum jocunditate et justitia æterno glorietur in regno. Amen.

Et præsta ut gentes illi teneant fidem, proceres sui habeant pacem, diligantque caritatem. Amen.

Tu ejus mentem benignus inlabere, ut amore te timeat, et timore diligat. Amen.

Tu ei honor sis, tu gaudium, tu voluntas, tu in mœrore solatium, in ambiguitate consilium, in itinere consolator. Amen.

Tu in injuriis defensor, in tribulatione patientia, in ægritudine medicina. Amen.

In te habeat omne consilium, per te tuam discat a te commissam sapientiam regni gubernacula moderari, ut semper felix, semper a te gaudens, de tuis mereatur

beneficiis gratulari, et æternis valeat commerciis copulari. Amen.

Ut quem tu nobis hodie tua misericordia jocundum præsentare dignatus es, tu facias multorum curriculis annorum protectione securum. Amen.

Et ita populis iste pullulet coalitus benedictione æternitatis, ut semper maneat tripudians in pace victoriosus. Amen.

Quod ipse præstare digneris, qui cum æterno Patre simul cum Spiritu Sancto, vivis et regnas Deus, per omnia sæcula sæculorum.

Hic datur ei baculum in manu sua.[6]

Omnipotens det tibi Deus de rore cœli et de pinguedine abundantiam terræ, frumenti, et vini, et serviant tibi populi, et adorent te tribus; esto dominus fratrum tuorum, et incurventur ante te filii matris tuæ, et qui benedixerit tibi benedictionibus repleatur, et Deus erit adjutor tuus, et Omnipotens benedicet tibi benedictionibus cœli desuper, in montibus, et in collibus, benedictionibus abyssi jacentis deorsum, benedictionibus uberum, et uvarum, pomorumque; benedictiones patrum antiquorum Abraham, et Isaac, et Jacob portatæ sint[7] super te.

Hic omnes pontifices sumant galeum et ponant super caput ipsius.[8]

Benedic, Domine, fortitudinem regis principis;[9] et opera manuum illius suscipe, et benedictione tua terra ejus de pomis[10] repleatur, de fructu cœli et rore atque

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[6] In the Leofric MS. the rubric is: "*Item super regem.*"

[7] "Confortatæ sint." *Missal. Leofric.*

[8] In the Leofric MS. merely "*Alia.*"

[9] "principis nostri." *Missal. Leofric.*

[10] "de pomis" desunt in *Missal. Leofric.*

abyssi subjacentis, de fructu solis ac lunæ, de vertice antiquorum montium, de pompis æternorum collium, et de frugibus terræ et plenitudine ejus: benedictio illius qui apparuit in rubo veniat super caput N. et plena sit benedictio Domini in filiis ejus, et tinguat in oleo pedem suum; cornua renocerotis cornua illius, in ipsis ventilabit gentes usque ad terminos terræ, quia ascensor cœli auxiliator suus in sempiternum fiat. Per.

Et dicat omnis populus tribus vicibus cum episcopis et presbyteris; Vivat rex N. in sempiternum. *Tunc confirmabitur*[11] *cum benedictione omnis populus, et osculandum principem in sempiternum dicit.* Amen. Amen. Amen. *Tunc dicunt orationem septimam supra regem.*

Deus perpetuitatis auctor, dux virtutum omnium, cunctorumque hostium victor, benedic hunc famulum tuum tibi suum caput inclinantem. Effunde super eum gratiam firmam, et in militia in qua probatus consistit, prolixa sanitate eum, prospera felicitate conserva, et ubicumque, vel pro quibuscumque auxilium tuum invocaverit, cito adsis, protegas, et defendas. Per.[12]

Offert. Exaudi Deus orationem meam.

Super oblata.

Suscipe, Domine, preces et munera ecclesiæ tuæ pro salute famuli N. supplicantis, et protectione fidelium populorum antiqua brachii tui operare miracula, ut superatis inimicis, secura tibi serviat christiana libertas. Per.

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[11] *Et confirmabitur cum benedictione omni populo in solio regni.*" Rubr. Missal. Leofric.

[12] From hence to the oath or promise, is omitted in the Leofric MS. as it is part, not of the Coronation Office, but of the mass.

Præfatio.

Æterne Deus, qui providentia tua cœlestia simul et terrena moderaris, propitiare regi nostro .N. et rebus nostris, ut omnis hostium fortitudo, te pro nobis pugnante, frangatur. Per.

Conjunctio.

Hanc igitur oblationem, Domine, famuli tui N. quam tibi in mysterio officii sacerdotalis offerimus, pro eo quod in ipsum potestatem regni conferre dignatus es, propitius et benignus assume, et exoratus nostra obsecratione concede, ut majestatis tuæ protectione confidens, et ævo augeatur et regno. Per Christum, diesque nostros.

Communio.

Inlumina faciem tuam.

Post communionem.

Deus, qui ad prædicandum æterni regni evangelium christianum imperium præparasti, prætende famulis tuis nunc principibus nostris arma justitiæ cœlestia, ut pax ecclesiarum nulla turbetur tempestate bellorum. Per.

Ad populum.

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, nostri regni defende regem atque rectores, ut in tua dextera confidentes, fiant hostibus suis fortiores universis. Per.

Primum[13] *mandatum regis ad populum hic videre potes.*

Rectitudo regis est noviter ordinati, et in solium sublimati, hæc tria præcepta populo christiano sibi subdito præcipere: in primis, ut ecclesia Dei et omnis

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[13] "*Rectitudo regis est noviter ordinati, et in solium sublimati, populo tria præcepta sibi subdito præcipere.*" Rubr. Missal. Leofric.

populus christianus veram pacem servent in[14] omni tempore. Amen.

Alia:

Aliud est, ut rapacitates et omnes iniquitates omnibus gradibus interdicat. Amen.

Tertium est, ut in omnibus judiciis æquitatem et misericordiam præcipiat, ut per hoc nobis indulgeat misericordiam suam clemens et misericors Deus. Amen.

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[14] "omnipotenti Deo." *Leofric MS.*

THE FORM AND ORDER

OF THE SERVICE THAT IS TO BE PERFORMED, AND OF THE CEREMONIES THAT ARE TO BE OBSERVED, IN

The Coronation of her Majesty Queen Victoria,

In the Abbey Church of St. Peter, Westminster, on Thursday, the 28th of June, 1838.

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[1] I do not propose in these notes, as I have already observed in the preliminary dissertation, to do more than notice a few of the most important variations which occur in the Offices which lie before me.

These are, the Offices of the coronations of her present Majesty, reprinted in the text: of William IV. and Q. Adelaide: of George IV.: of George II. and Q. Caroline. For any remarks on the variations of the preceding and intermediate reigns, I am obliged to rely upon the authority, scarcely to be doubted in such respect, of reprints and accounts of the offices: for example, by Prynne, Sir E. Walker, and Sandford.

[2] This is called "The Declaration and Oath" in the Order for K. George II.

[3] "The Girding and Oblation." in the Orders until K. William IV. The student must compare the note in the place below.

[4] "The Investing with the Armill and the Royal Robe:" until K. William IV.

[5] The Order of K. George IV. adds here "xvij. The final Anthem;" which is also the arrangement of the Order for K. George II. As in this last instance, and in that also of K. William IV., a Queen was also crowned, both these orders add "xviij. the Queen's coronation."

The
Form and Order of her Majesty's Coronation.

IN the Morning upon the Day of the Coronation early, Care is to be taken that the Ampulla *be filled with Oil, and, together with the* Spoon, *be laid ready upon the Altar in the Abbey-Church.*

SECT. I.—The Entrance into the Church.

The Queen, as soon as She enters at the West Door of the Church, is to be received with the following Anthem, to be sung by the Choir.[6]

ANTHEM.

I WAS glad when they said unto me, We will go into the House of the Lord. For there is the Seat of Judgement, even the Seat of the House of David. O pray for the peace of Jerusalem; They shall prosper that love Thee. Peace be within thy walls, and prosperity within thy Palaces.

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son: and to the Holy Ghost;

As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be: world without end. *Amen.*

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[6] "by the choir of Westminster." William IV. And the earlier forms add: "who, with the Dean and Prebendaries of that church, are before to fall off from the procession a little to the left side of the middle aisle, and stay there to attend the coming of *his Majesty*, [*their Majesties*] and then going next before *the regalia* [*the Queen's regalia*,] to sing:"

The Queen in the mean time passes up through the Body of the Church, into, and through the Choir, and so up the Stairs to the Theatre; and having passed by Her Throne, She makes Her humble Adoration, and then kneeling at the Faldstool[7] *set for Her before Her Chair, uses some short private Prayers; and after, sitting down (not in Her Throne, but in Her Chair before, and below, Her Throne,) there reposes Herself.*

SECT. II.—The Recognition.[8]

The Queen being so placed, the Archbishop turneth to the East part of the Theatre, and after, together with

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[7] According to the pictures of the late coronations, this "faldstool" has changed much from its original and proper shape: it would now seem that a desk to kneel at is placed before the chair, upon which it would not be possible to sit, which was one end and object of the proper faldstool. The name however has been retained, and we have only to regret that the thing itself has been changed. Very probably this has been owing to the interference of subordinate officials: who, very ignorant of the purpose and meaning of many parts of the Service, and of the proper ornaments and the furniture to be provided, have nevertheless obtruded themselves into matters beyond their office.

The same alteration has taken place in France: and there also the proper faldstool has been supplanted by a cushioned desk to kneel at. How long this has been, I know not, in either case: but the faldstool was not used at the coronation of Louis XV. in 1722. See the plates, in the account of it. *Le Sacre de Louis XV, Roy de France. fol.* And see below, note 11.

Du Cange explains the *faldistorium* to be, "Sella plicatilis," which in fact it was: something like the common camp-stool of the present day. The same writer quotes various etymologies which have been proposed for the name; the most probable of which, as it is the most obvious, derives it "a Longobardico *Falden*, plicare, et *Stoul*, sedes." In the coronation-service of Charles V. of France, so often cited above, the faldstool occurs in many of the illuminations; one is placed for the king,

the Lord Chancellor, Lord Great Chamberlain, Lord High Constable and Earl Marshal (Garter King of Arms preceding them), goes to the other three sides of the Theatre in this Order, South, West, and North, and at every of the four sides, with a loud Voice, speaks to the People: And the Queen in the mean time standing up by Her Chair, turns and shews Herself unto the People at every of the four sides of the Theatre, as the Archbishop is at every of them, and while He speaks thus to the People:

SIRS, I here present unto you Queen VICTORIA, the Undoubted Queen of this Realm: Wherefore All you who are come this Day to do your Homage, Are you willing to do the same?

The People signify their Willingness and Joy, by loud and repeated Acclamations, all with one Voice crying out,

God save Queen VICTORIA.

Then the Trumpets sound.[9]

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another for the archbishop, and both alike. A low crossed, or folding-stool, which might be used either to kneel at, or to sit upon: examples of both of which occur in the manuscript.

[8] This title is of modern introduction, having been for the first time applied to this part of the Service, by Sandford, in his account of the coronation of James II. But the term is ancient; for example, in the chronicle of John Bromton: "Defuncto rege Ethelredo, episcopi, et abbates, et quique terræ nobiliores omnem ejus progeniem abnegantes, Kanutum pro rege apud Suthamptoniam recognoverunt." *Script. x. p.* 903.

[9] "*And the Choir sing this Anthem:* The king shall rejoice, etc." *Psalm* xxj. Order of Geo. II.

SECT. III.—The First Oblation.

The Bible, Paten, and Cup being brought by the Bishops who had borne them, and placed upon the Altar, the Archbishop goeth to the Altar and puts on his Cope, and standeth on the North Side of it: And the Bishops, who are to read the Litany, do also vest themselves. And the Officers of the Wardrobe, &c. *spread Carpets and Cushions on the Floor and Steps of the Altar.*

First Oblation, a Pall and Wedge of Gold.

Which being done, the Queen, supported by the two Bishops, of Durham *and* Bath and Wells, *and attended by the Dean of* Westminster, *the Great Officers, and the Lords that carry the* Regalia *going before Her, goes down to the Altar, and kneeling upon the Steps of it makes her* First Oblation; *Which is a* Pall, *or* Altar-Cloth *of* Gold, *delivered by an Officer of the Wardrobe to the Lord Great Chamberlain, and by Him, kneeling, to Her Majesty: and an Ingot or Wedge of Gold of a pound weight, which the Treasurer of the Household delivers to the Lord Great Chamberlain, and He to Her Majesty, kneeling: Who delivers them to the Archbishop, and the Archbishop standing (in which posture he is to receive all other Oblations) receives from Her, one after another, the Pall to be reverently laid upon the Altar, and the Gold to be received into the Bason, and with the like Reverence put upon the Altar.*[10]

Then the Archbishop saith this Prayer, the Queen still kneeling:

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[10] In those Orders where a queen was crowned with a king, here is inserted the rubric for her majesty's oblation also. "Then the Queen ariseth from her chair, and being likewise supported by two Bishops, and the Lords which carry her regalia going before her,

O GOD, who dwellest in the high and holy Place, with them also who are of an humble Spirit, Look down mercifully upon this Thy Servant, VICTORIA our Queen, here humbling Herself before Thee at Thy Footstool, and graciously receive these Oblations, which in humble Acknowledgement of Thy Sovereignty over all, and of Thy great Bounty to Her in particular, She hath now offered up unto Thee, through Jesus Christ our only Mediator and Advocate. *Amen.*

The Queen having thus offered, and so fulfilled his Commandment, who said, Thou shalt not appear before the Lord thy God empty; *goes to Her Chair set for Her on the South side of the Altar, where She is to kneel at Her Faldstool*[11] *when the Litany begins.*

In the mean time, the Lords who carry the Regalia, *except those who carry the Swords, come in Order near to the Altar, and present Every One what He carries to the Archbishop, who delivers them to the Dean of* Westminster, *to be by Him placed upon the Altar, and then retire to the Places and Seats appointed for Them.*

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goeth down to the altar, and kneeling upon the cushions there laid for her, on the left hand of the king's, maketh her Oblation, which is a Pall, to be received also by the Archbishop, and laid upon the altar."

K. James I. offered "a Pall and twenty pieces of gold."

[11] The use of this term "faldstool," for the place at which the Sovereign is to kneel during the Litany, has been observed since the time of K. James I.

The Sermon was appointed to be preached here, followed by the oath, the 'Veni Creator' and a prayer, in the orders of K. James I. and Charles II. In James II.'s the Litany preceded the sermon: but, as will be remarked again presently, at that coronation there was no communion. The present order began with K. William III. and Queen Mary.

SECT. IV.—The Litany.

Then followeth the Litany, to be read by two Bishops, vested in Copes, and kneeling at a Faldstool above the Steps of the Theatre, on the middle of the East side thereof, the Choir reading the Responses.[12]

O GOD the Father of heaven: have mercy upon us miserable sinners.

O God the Father of heaven: have mercy upon us miserable sinners.

O God the Son, Redeemer of the world: have mercy upon us miserable sinners.

O God the Son, Redeemer of the world: have mercy upon us miserable sinners.

O God the Holy Ghost, proceeding from the Father and the Son: have mercy upon us miserable sinners.

O God the Holy Ghost, proceeding from the Father and the Son: have mercy upon us miserable sinners.

O holy, blessed, and glorious Trinity, three persons and one God: have mercy upon us miserable sinners.

O holy, blessed, and glorious Trinity, three persons and one God: have mercy upon us miserable sinners.

Remember not, Lord, our offences, nor the offences of our forefathers, neither take thou vengeance of our sins: spare us, good Lord, spare thy people whom thou hast redeemed with thy most precious blood, and be not angry with us for ever.

Spare us, good Lord.

From all evil and mischief; from sin, from the crafts

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[12] "The Choir singing the responses to the organ." George II.

and assaults of the devil; from thy wrath, and from everlasting damnation,

Good Lord, deliver us.

From all blindness of heart; from pride, vain-glory, and hypocrisy; from envy, hatred, and malice, and all uncharitableness,

Good Lord, deliver us.

From fornication, and all other deadly sin; and from all the deceits of the world, the flesh, and the devil,

Good Lord, deliver us.

From lightning and tempest; from plague, pestilence, and famine; from battle and murder, and from sudden death,

Good Lord, deliver us.

From all sedition, privy conspiracy, and rebellion; from all false doctrine, heresy, and schism; from hardness of heart, and contempt of thy Word and Commandment,

Good Lord, deliver us.

By the mystery of thy holy Incarnation; by thy holy Nativity and Circumcision; by thy Baptism, Fasting, and Temptation,

Good Lord, deliver us.

By thine Agony and bloody Sweat; by thy Cross and Passion; by thy precious Death and Burial; by thy glorious Resurrection and Ascension; and by the coming of the Holy Ghost,

Good Lord, deliver us.

In all time of our tribulation; in all time of our wealth; in the hour of death, and in the day of judgement,

Good Lord, deliver us.

We sinners do beseech thee to hear us, O Lord God,

and that it may please thee to rule and govern thy holy Church universal in the right way;

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to keep and strengthen in the true worshipping of thee, in righteousness and holiness of life, thy Servant VICTORIA, our most gracious Queen and Governor;

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to rule her heart in thy faith, fear, and love, and that she may evermore have affiance in thee, and ever seek thy honour and glory;

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to be her defender and keeper, giving her the victory over all her enemies;

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to bless and preserve ADELAIDE the Queen Dowager, and all the Royal Family;

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to illuminate all Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, with true knowledge and understanding of thy Word, and that both by their preaching and living they may set it forth, and shew it accordingly;

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to endue the Lords of the Council, and all the Nobility, with grace, wisdom, and understanding;

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to bless and keep the Magistrates, giving them grace to execute justice, and to maintain truth;

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to bless and keep all thy people;

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to give to all nations, unity, peace, and concord;

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to give us an heart to love and dread thee, and diligently to live after thy commandments;

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to give to all thy people increase of grace, to hear meekly thy Word, and to receive it with pure affection, and to bring forth the fruits of the Spirit;

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to bring into the way of truth all such as have erred, and are deceived;

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to strengthen such as do stand, and to comfort and help the weak-hearted, and to raise up them that fall, and finally to beat down Satan under our feet;

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to succour, help, and comfort all that are in danger, necessity, and tribulation;

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to preserve all that travel by land or by water, all women labouring of child, all sick persons and young children, and to shew thy pity upon all prisoners and captives;

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to defend and provide for the fatherless children and widows, and all that are desolate and oppressed;

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to have mercy upon all men;

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to forgive our enemies, persecutors, and slanderers, and to turn their hearts;

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to give and preserve to our use the kindly fruits of the earth, so as in due time we may enjoy them;

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to give us true repentance, to forgive us all our sins, negligences, and ignorances, and to endue us with the grace of thy Holy Spirit, to amend our lives according to thy holy Word;

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

Son of God: we beseech thee to hear us.

Son of God: we beseech thee to hear us.

O Lamb of God: that takest away the sins of the world;

Grant us thy peace.

O Lamb of God: that takest away the sins of the world;

Have mercy upon us.

O Christ, hear us.

O Christ, hear us.

Lord, have mercy upon us.

Lord, have mercy upon us.

Christ, have mercy upon us.

Christ, have mercy upon us.

Lord, have mercy upon us.

Lord, have mercy upon us.

¶ *Then shall the Bishops, and the People with them, say the Lord's Prayer.*

OUR Father, which art in Heaven; Hallowed be thy Name. Thy Kingdom come. Thy Will be done in Earth, As it is in Heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses, As we forgive them that trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation; But deliver us from evil. Amen.

Bishop. O Lord, deal not with us after our sins.
Answer. Neither reward us after our iniquities.

¶ Let us pray.

O GOD merciful Father, that despisest not the sighing of a contrite heart, nor the desire of such as be sorrowful; Mercifully assist our prayers that we make before thee in all our troubles and adversities, whensoever they oppress us; and graciously hear us, that those evils which the craft and subtilty of the devil or man worketh against us, be brought to nought, and by the providence of thy goodness they may be dispersed, that we thy servants, being hurt by no persecutions, may evermore give thanks unto thee in thy holy Church, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

O Lord, arise, help us, and deliver us, for thy Name's sake.

O GOD, we have heard with our ears, and our fathers have declared unto us, the noble works that thou didst in their days, and in the old time before them.

O Lord, arise, help us, and deliver us for thine Honour.

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son: and to the Holy Ghost;

Answ. As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be: world without end. *Amen.*

From our enemies defend us, O Christ.

Graciously look upon our afflictions.

Pitifully behold the sorrows of our hearts.

Mercifully forgive the sins of thy people.

Favourably with mercy hear our prayers.

O Son of David, have mercy upon us.

Both now and ever vouchsafe to hear us, O Christ.

Graciously hear us, O Christ; graciously hear us, O Lord Christ.

Bish. O Lord, let thy mercy be shewed upon us.

Answ. As we do put our trust in thee.

¶ Let us pray.

WE humbly beseech thee, O Father, mercifully to look upon our infirmities; and for the glory of thy Name, turn from us all those evils that we most righteously have deserved; and grant that in all our troubles we may put our whole trust and confidence in thy mercy, and evermore serve thee in holiness and pureness of living, to thy honour and glory, through our only Mediator and Advocate, Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

O GOD, who providest for thy people by thy power, and rulest over them in love, grant unto this thy servant our QUEEN the spirit of wisdom and government, that being devoted unto thee with all her heart, she may so wisely govern this kingdom, that in her time thy church and people may continue in safety and prosperity; and that persevering in good works unto the end she may through thy mercy come to thine everlasting kingdom, through Jesus Christ thy Son our Lord. *Amen.*

THE Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the Love of God, and the Fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with us all evermore. *Amen.*

The Bishops who read the Litany will resume their Seats.[13]

SECT. V.—The beginning of the Communion Service.

Sanctus.

Holy! Holy! Holy, Lord God of Hosts;
Heaven and Earth are full of thy Glory;
Glory be to Thee, O Lord most High;
Amen.

Then the Archbishop beginneth the Communion Service.

OUR Father which art in Heaven; Hallowed be thy Name. Thy Kingdom come. Thy Will be done in Earth, As it is in Heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses, As we forgive them that trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation; But deliver us from evil. *Amen.*

Collect.

ALMIGHTY GOD, unto whom all hearts be open, all desires known, and from whom no secrets are hid; Cleanse the thoughts of our hearts by the inspiration of thy Holy Spirit, that we may perfectly love thee, and worthily magnify thy holy Name, through Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

¶ *Then shall the Archbishop, turning to the People, rehearse distinctly all the Ten Commandments; and*

[13] This rubric occurs for the first time.

the People, still kneeling, shall after every Commandment ask God Mercy for their transgression thereof for the time past, and Grace to keep the same for the time to come, as followeth.

Archbishop.

GOD spake these words, and said, I am the Lord thy God: thou shalt have none other gods but me.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law.

Archb. Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image, nor the likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the water under the earth. Thou shalt not bow down to them, nor worship them: for I the Lord thy God am a jealous God, and visit the sins of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me, and shew mercy unto thousands in them that love me, and keep my commandments.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law.

Archb. Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain: for the Lord will not hold him guiltless that taketh his name in vain.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law.

Archb. Remember that thou keep holy the sabbath-day. Six days shalt thou labour, and do all that thou hast to do; but the seventh day is the sabbath of the Lord thy God. In it thou shalt do no manner of work, thou, and thy son, and thy daughter, thy man-servant, and thy maid-servant, thy cattle, and the stranger that is within thy gates. For in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in

them is, and rested the seventh day; wherefore the Lord blessed the seventh day, and hallowed it.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law.

Archb. Honour thy father and thy mother, that thy days may be long in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law.

Archb. Thou shalt do no murder.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law.

Archb. Thou shalt not commit adultery.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law.

Archb. Thou shalt not steal.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law.

Archb. Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law.

Archb. Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house, thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor his servant, nor his maid, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor any thing that is his.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us, and write all these thy laws in our hearts, we beseech thee.

¶ *Then shall follow this Collect for the Queen, the Archbishop standing as before, and saying,*

Let us pray.

ALMIGHTY God, whose kingdom is everlasting, and power infinite; Have mercy upon the whole

Church, and so rule the heart of thy chosen Servant VICTORIA our Queen and Governor, that she (knowing whose Minister she is) may above all things seek thy honour and glory; and that we and all her subjects (duly considering whose Authority she hath) may faithfully serve, honour, and humbly obey her, in thee, and for thee, according to thy blessed word and ordinance, through Jesus Christ our Lord, who with thee and the Holy Ghost liveth and reigneth ever one God, world without end. *Amen.*

THE EPISTLE,

To be read by one of the Bishops. 1 Pet. ii. 13.

SUBMIT yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake: whether it be to the King as supreme; or unto Governors, as unto them that are sent by him for the punishment of evil-doers, and for the praise of them that do well. For so is the will of God, that with well-doing ye may put to silence the ignorance of foolish men: As free, and not using your liberty for a cloke of maliciousness, but as the servants of God. Honour all men. Love the brotherhood. Fear God. Honour the King.

THE GOSPEL,

To be read by another Bishop, the Queen with the People standing. S. Matth. xxii. 15.

THEN went the Pharisees, and took counsel how they might entangle him in his talk. And they sent out unto him their disciples, with the Herodians, saying, Master, we know that thou art true, and teachest the way of God in truth, neither carest thou

for any man: for thou regardest not the person of men. Tell us therefore, What thinkest thou? Is it lawful to give tribute unto Cæsar, or not? But Jesus perceived their wickedness, and said, Why tempt ye me, ye hypocrites? Shew me the tribute-money. And they brought unto him a penny. And he said unto them, Whose is this image and superscription? They said unto him, Cæsar's. Then saith he unto them, Render therefore unto Cæsar, the things which are Cæsar's: and unto God, the things that are God's. When they had heard these words they marvelled, and left him, and went their way.

Then the Archbishop readeth the Nicene *Creed; the Queen with the people standing, as before.*

I BELIEVE in one God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, And of all things visible and invisible:

And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God, Begotten of his Father before all worlds, God of God, Light of Light, Very God of very God, Begotten, not made, being of one substance with the Father, by whom all things were made: Who for us men, and for our salvation, came down from heaven, And was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, And was made man, And was crucified also for us under Pontius Pilate. He suffered and was buried, And the third day he rose again according to the Scriptures, And ascended into heaven, And sitteth on the right hand of the Father. And he shall come again with glory to judge both the quick and the dead: Whose kingdom shall have no end.

And I believe in the Holy Ghost, The Lord and giver of life, Who proceedeth from the Father and the

Son, Who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified, Who spake by the prophets. And I believe one Catholick and Apostolick Church. I acknowledge one Baptism for the remission of sins. And I look for the resurrection of the dead, And the life of the world to come. *Amen.*

The Service being concluded, the Bishops who assisted will return to their Seats.[14]

SECT. VI.—The Sermon.

At the end of the Creed one of the Bishops is ready in the Pulpit, placed against the Pillar at the North-East Corner of the Theatre, and begins the Sermon, which is to be suitable to the great Occasion; which the Queen hears sitting in Her Chair on the South side of the Altar, over against the Pulpit.[15]

On Her right hand stands the Bishop of Durham, *and beyond him, on the same side, the Lords that carry the Swords: On Her left hand the Bishop of* Bath and Wells, *and the Lord Great Chamberlain.*

On the North side of the Altar sits the Archbishop in a purple Velvet Chair: Near the Archbishop stands Garter King of Arms: On the South side, East of the Queen's Chair, nearer to the Altar, stand the Dean and Prebendaries of Westminster.

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[14] This rubric occurs for the first time. These seats, according to a rubric in another place in Geo. II.'s order, are to be "on the North side of the wall between the Archbishop and the pulpit."

[15] "And whereas the king was uncovered during the offering and service following; when the service begins, he puts on his cap of crimson velvet turned up with ermins, and so continues to the end of it." Orders of Wm. IV. Geo. IV. &c.

SECT. VII.—The Oath.

The Sermon being ended, and Her Majesty having on Monday the 20*th Day of November* 1837, *in the presence of the Two Houses of Parliament, made and signed the Declaration,*[16] *the Archbishop goeth to the*

[16] This alteration, a very proper one, that the sovereign should previously in another place, before the two Houses of Parliament, make and sign "the Declaration," was made after the reign of K. Geo. II., from whose "Order," as the subject is important, I shall transcribe the form.

"Sect. vij. The Declaration and Oath.

Sermon being ended, the Archbishop goeth to the King, and standing before him, asketh him;

"Is your Majesty willing to make the Declaration?

"*The King answers;*

"I am willing.

"*The Archbishop being ready with the said Declaration written in a roll of parchment, and reading it as followeth:*

"I George the Second, by the grace of God King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c., do solemnly and sincerely, in the presence of God, profess, testify, and declare, That I do believe, that in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper there is not any Transubstantiation of the Elements of Bread and Wine into the Body and Blood of Christ, at or after the consecration thereof by any person whatsoever: and that the invocation or adoration of the Virgin Mary, or any other Saint, and the Sacrifice of the Mass, as they are now used in the Church of Rome, are superstitious and idolatrous. And I do solemnly, in the presence of God, profess, testify, and declare, that I do make this declaration, and every part thereof, in the plain and ordinary sense of the words read unto me, as they are commonly understood by *English* Protestants, without any evasion, equivocation, or mental reservation whatsoever, and without any dispensation already granted me for this purpose by the Pope, or any other authority or person whatsoever, or without any hope of any such dispensation from any person or authority whatsoever, or without thinking that I am, or may be acquitted before God or man, or absolved of this declaration, or any part thereof, although the Pope, or any other person or persons, or power whatsoever, should dispense with, or annul

Queen, and standing before Her, says to the Queen,
Madam,

Is Your Majesty willing to take the Oath?

And the Queen answering,

I am willing.

The Archbishop ministereth these Questions;[17] *and*

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the same, or declare that it was null and void from the beginning.

"*The King makes, and audibly repeats and subscribes the same upon the top of his faldstool, a silver standish being brought out of the traverse for that purpose. Then the Archbishop administers the Coronation Oath, etc.*"

[17] It does not seem improper to transcribe the questions and promises preceding the oath, as they were appointed, (with some unimportant verbal alterations) in the orders for K. James I., Chas. II. and James II.

"*The Archbishop ministreth the three first questions, and the King answereth them severally*:

"*Archbishop*. Sir, will you grant and keep, and by your oath confirm to the people of England the laws and customs to them granted by the Kings of England, your lawful and religious predecessors, and namely the laws, customs and franchises, granted to the clergy by the glorious king, St. Edward, your predecessor, according to the laws of God, the true profession of the Gospel established in this kingdom, agreeable to the prerogative of the kings thereof, and the ancient customs of this realm?

"*King*. I grant and promise to keep them.

"*Archbishop*. Sir, will you keep peace, and godly agreement (according to your power) both to God, the Holy Church, the clergy, and the people?

"*King*. I will keep it.

"*Archbishop*. Sir, will you (to your power) cause law, justice, and discretion in mercy and truth to be executed to your judgment?

"*King*. I will.

"*Archbishop*. Sir, will you grant to hold and keep the laws and rightful customs which the commonalty of this your kingdom have: and will you defend and uphold them to the honour of God, so much as in you lieth?

"*King*. I grant and promise so to do."

After these questions, follows in those "Orders" the "petition of the Bishops;" which has been already noted and transcribed: see above, p. 9, Note 13. I need scarcely refer the student to the whole corresponding portion of the ancient Service.

the Queen, having a Copy of the printed Form and Order of the Coronation Service in Her Hands, answers each Question severally, as follows.

Archb. Will You solemnly promise and swear to govern the People of this United Kingdom of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, and the Dominions thereto belonging, according to the Statutes in Parliament agreed on, and the respective Laws and Customs of the same?

Queen. I solemnly promise so to do.

Archb. Will You to Your power cause Law and Justice, in Mercy, to be executed in all Your Judgements?

Queen. I will.

Archb. Will You to the utmost of Your Power maintain the Laws of God, the true Profession of the Gospel, and the Protestant Reformed Religion established by Law? And will You maintain and preserve inviolably the Settlement of the United Church of *England* and *Ireland*, and the Doctrine, Worship, Discipline, and Government thereof, as by Law established within *England* and *Ireland*, and the Territories thereunto belonging? And will You preserve unto the Bishops and Clergy of *England* and *Ireland*, and to the Churches there committed to their Charge, all such Rights and Privileges, as by Law do, or shall appertain to Them, or any of Them?

Queen. All this I promise to do.

Then the Queen arising out of Her Chair, attended by Her Supporters, and assisted by the Lord Great Chamberlain, the Sword of State being carried before Her, shall go the Altar, and there make Her Solemn Oath in the sight of all the People, to observe the Premises: Laying Her right hand upon the Holy Gos-

The Bible to be brought.

pel[18] *in the Great Bible, which was before carried in the Procession, and is now brought from the Altar by the Archbishop, and tendered to Her as She kneels upon the Steps, saying these Words:*

The things which I have here before promised, I will perform, and keep. So help me God.[19]

And a Silver Standish.

Then the Queen kisseth the Book, and signeth the Oath.

SECT. VIII.—The Anointing.

The Queen having thus taken Her Oath, returns again to Her Chair on the South Side of the Altar; and kneeling at Her Faldstool, the Archbishop beginneth the Hymn, Veni, Creator Spiritus, *and the Choir singeth it out.*

Hymn.

COME, Holy Ghost, our Souls inspire,
And warm them with thy Heavenly fire.
Thou who th'Anointing Spirit art,
To Us thy sevenfold Gifts impart.
Let thy bless'd Unction from above
Be to Us Comfort, Life, and Love.
Enable with Celestial Light

[18] There is certainly some obscurity about this term, "the Holy Gospel in the Great Bible." It might either mean the New Testament in that Book, or the proper Gospel appointed for the day, or simply be taken as a periphrasis for the Bible itself: the whole Scriptures being in a sense, a Gospel. The order for King James I. speaks of "the Bible:" that for K. Charles II., which was followed by James II. directs the King to take the Oath "laying his hand upon the Evangelists."

[19] "So help me God, and the contents of this book." James I. Charles II. and James II.

The weakness of our mortal Sight:
Anoint our Hearts, and cheer our Face,
With the abundance of thy Grace:
Keep far our Foes, give Peace at Home;
Where thou dost dwell, no Ill can come:
Teach us to know the Father, Son,
And Spirit of Both, to be but One.
That so through Ages all along,
This may be our triumphant Song;
In Thee, O Lord, we make our boast,
Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

This being ended, the Archbishop saith this Prayer:

O LORD, Holy Father, who by anointing with Oil didst of old make and consecrate Kings, Priests, and Prophets, to teach and govern thy People Israel: Bless and Sanctify thy Chosen Servant VICTORIA, who by our Office and Ministry, is now to be anointed with this Oil, and consecrated Queen of this Realm: Strengthen Her, O Lord, with the Holy Ghost the Comforter; Confirm and Stablish Her with thy free and Princely Spirit, the Spirit of Wisdom and Government, the Spirit of Counsel and Ghostly Strength, the Spirit of Knowledge and true Godliness, and fill Her, O Lord, with the Spirit of thy Holy Fear, now and for ever. *Amen.*

Here the Archbishop lays his hand upon the Ampulla.

This Prayer being ended, the Choir sing:

ANTHEM.

ZADOK the Priest, and Nathan the Prophet, anointed Solomon King; and all the People rejoiced, and said; God save the King, Long live the King, May the King live for ever. Amen. Hallelujah.

1 Kings i. 39, 40.

At the commencement of the Anthem, the Queen rising from Her Devotions, goes before the Altar, attended by Her Supporters, and assisted by the Lord Great Chamberlain, the Sword of State being carried before Her, where Her Majesty is disrobed of Her Crimson Robes.

The Queen will then sit down in King Edward's *Chair placed in the midst of the* Area *over against the Altar, with a Faldstool before it, wherein She is to be Anointed. Four Knights of the Garter hold over Her a rich Pall of Silk, or Cloth of Gold; the Anthem being concluded, the Dean of* Westminster *taking the* Ampulla *and* Spoon *from off the Altar, holdeth them ready, pouring some of the Holy Oil into the Spoon, and with it the Archbishop anointeth the Queen, in the Form of a Cross:*

[20] *On the Crown of the Head, and on the Palms of both the Hands, saying,*

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[20] The orders for K. Geo. II. and IV. appoint as follows:

"1. *On the crown of the head, saying,* Be thy head anointed with holy oil, as kings, priests, and prophets were anointed.

"2. *On the breast, saying,* Be thy breast anointed with holy oil.

"3. *On the palms of both the hands, saying,* Be thy hands anointed with holy oil.

"And as Solomon, *etc.*"

My copy of the order for K. Geo. IV. is corrected *as it was used on the occasion,* by the then York Herald, C. G. Young, Esq., and I must add, that although in the Service itself, the form of anointing stands as I have just transcribed it, yet the second anointing, (of the breast) has been crossed through with a pen, and I have no doubt was in fact omitted.

We may easily trace the subsequent alterations, first for King William IV., and followed by the Order for her present Majesty: the anointing not only being omitted, but the two unctions thrown, as it were, together, and no distinct benediction appointed for each. These changes and omissions, to be referred to the coronation, probably, of Geo. IV. are, I think, to be regretted.

But we must compare the Form

Be Thou anointed with Holy Oil, as Kings, Priests, and Prophets were anointed:

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as it stood in the 17th century: I shall quote from the Order of K. James I., which was followed, generally, by Charles I. and II., and James II., except that in the case of Charles II. the oil having been consecrated previously, the proper preface and benediction were of course omitted.

"*The Litany being ended, the Archbishop beginneth to say aloud,* Lift up your hearts. *Answ.* We lift them up unto the Lord. It is very meet, right, and our bounden duty, that we should at all times, and in all places, give thanks unto thee, O Lord, Holy Father, Almighty and Everlasting God, the strength of thy chosen and the exalter of the humble, which in the beginning, by the pouring out of the flood, didst chasten the sins of the world, and by a dove conveying an olive branch, didst give a token of reconcilement unto the earth, and again didst consecrate thy servant Aaron a priest, by the anointing of oil, and afterward by the effusion of this oil, didst make kings, and priests, and prophets, to govern thy people Israel, and by the voice of the prophet David, didst foretel, that the countenance of thy Church should be made cheerful with oil: We beseech thee, Almighty Father, that thou wilt vouchsafe to bless and sanctify this thy servant *James*, that he may minister peace unto his people, and imitate Aaron in the service of God. That he may attain the perfection of Government in counsel and judgment, and a countenance always cheerful, and amiable to the whole people, through Christ our Lord.

"*This done, the king ariseth from his devotion, and reposeth himself a while in his chair of estate. After a while, he goeth to the Altar, and there disrobeth himself of his upper garments, his under apparel being made open, with loops only closed, at the places which are to be anointed.*

"*The archbishop undoeth the loops, and openeth the places which he is to anoint.*

"*The archbishop first anointeth his hands, saying,*

"Let these hands be anointed, as kings and prophets have been anointed, and as Samuel did anoint David to be king, that thou may'st be blessed, and established a King in this kingdom over this people, whom the Lord thy God hath given thee to rule and govern, which he vouchsafe to grant, who with the Father and the Holy Ghost. *etc.*

"*The mean while the quire singeth the Anthem:*

"Sadock the Priest. *etc.*

And as Solomon was anointed King by Zadok the Priest, and Nathan the Prophet, so be You anointed, blessed, and consecrated Queen over this People, whom the Lord your God hath given you to rule and govern, In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. *Amen.*

Then the Dean of Westminster *layeth the* Ampulla *and* Spoon *upon the Altar, and the Queen kneeleth down at the Faldstool, and the Archbishop standing on the North side of the Altar, saith this Prayer or Blessing over Her:*

OUR Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who by his Father was anointed with the Oil of gladness above his fellows, by his Holy Anointing pour down upon your Head and Heart the Blessing of the Holy Ghost, and prosper the Works of your Hands: that

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"*The Archbishop saith this prayer:* Look down, Almighty God, with thy favourable countenance, *etc.*

"*The prayer ended, the Archbishop proceedeth with his anointing.* 1. *Of the breast.* 2. *Between the shoulders.* 3. *Of both the shoulders.* 4. *Of the 'boughes' of both his arms.* 5. *Of his head in the crown.*

"*The anointing being done, the Dean of Westminster closeth the loops again which were opened. The Archbishop saith these prayers.*

"God the Son of God, Christ Jesus our Lord, which was anointed by His Father, *etc.*

"God, which art the Glory of the righteous, *etc.*

"*The prayers being ended, First a shallow 'Quoif' is put on the king's head, because of the anointing: if his Majesty's hair be not smooth after it, there is King Edward's ivory comb for that end.*

"*Then the colobium or dalmatica is put on him.* etc."

In the Forms for K. James I., Charles II., and James II., after the anointing. before the presenting of the spurs, the "Colobium Sindonis," the "Supertunica," and the "Tynsen" or "Tissue Hose and Sandalls," were, in due order, to be put on.

by the Assistance of his Heavenly Grace you may preserve the People committed to your charge in Wealth, Peace, and Godliness; and after a long and glorious Course of ruling this Temporal Kingdom Wisely, Justly, and Religiously, you may at last be made Partaker of an Eternal Kingdom, through the Merits of Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

This Prayer being ended, the Queen arises, and sits down again in Her Chair.[21]

SECT. IX.

The presenting of the Spurs and Sword,[22] and the Oblation of the said Sword.

The Spurs *are brought from the Altar by the Dean of* Westminster, *and delivered to the Lord Great Chamberlain, who, kneeling down, presents them to the Queen, who forthwith sends them back to the Altar.* The Spurs.

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[21] There is considerable variety, in the later Forms, in this place. The order for K. William IV. adds; "*When the Dean of Westminster will invest his Majesty with the supertunica.*"

The orders for George IV., and George II., adds, after the word "Chair:" "*And the Dean of Westminster wipes and dries all the places anointed, with fine linen, or fine bombast wool, delivered to him by the Lord Great Chamberlain.*"

This sentence has been however erased, by the York Herald, in the copy before me: and this inserted with a pen. "When the Dean will invest his majesty with the supertunica of cloth of gold, and a girdle of the same for the sword."

The order for K. George II. appoints also:

"*Then this short anthem is sung.*

"Behold, O God our Defender, and look upon the face of thine anointed. Great prosperity givest thou unto thy King, and wilt shew loving kindness to thine anointed for evermore. *Hallelujah.*"

[22] As before remarked, see above, Note 3. the earlier mo-

The Sword of State returned.

Then the Lord, who carries the Sword of State, *returns the said Sword to the Lord Chamberlain (who gives it to an Officer of the Jewel House, to be deposited in the Traverse in* King Edward's *Chapel), and receiveth in lieu thereof, from the Lord Chamberlain, another* Sword, *in a* Scabbard *of* Purple Velvet, *which he will deliver to the Archbishop, who, laying it on the Altar, saith the following Prayer:*

Another Sword brought.

HEAR our prayers, O Lord, we beseech thee, and so direct and support thy Servant Queen VICTORIA, that She may not bear the Sword in vain; but may use it as the Minister of God for the terror and punishment of Evil-doers, and for the protection and encouragement of those that do well, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

Delivered to the Queen.

Then the Archbishop takes the Sword *from off the Altar, and (the Archbishops of* York *and* Armagh, *and the Bishops of* London *and* Winchester, *and other Bishops, assisting, and going along with him) delivers it into the Queen's Right Hand, and She holding it, the Archbishop saith:*

RECEIVE this Kingly Sword, brought now from the Altar of God, and delivered to You by the hands of us the Bishops and Servants of God, though Unworthy.[23] With this Sword do Justice, stop the

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dern Forms, until the order of K. William IV. appointed the sword to be "girded," as well as presented. If there were any reasons why this omission should have been continued in the order for her present Majesty, it is nevertheless not easy to perceive the exact cause for the first example in the case of K. William IV.

[23] In the previous orders to that of K. William IV. the Form of delivery of the sword ended here, and was followed by this rubric and admonition:

Growth of Iniquity, protect the holy Church of God, help and defend Widows and Orphans, restore the things that are gone to decay, maintain the things that are restored, punish and reform what is amiss, and confirm what is in good Order: that doing these things, You may be glorious in all virtue; and so faithfully serve[24] our Lord Jesus Christ in this life, that You may reign for ever with Him in the Life which is to come. *Amen.*

Then the Queen, rising up, and going to the Altar, offers the Sword there in the Scabbard, delivering it to the Archbishop, who places it on the Altar; the Queen then returns and sits down in King Edward's *Chair: And the Lord who first received the Sword offereth the Price of it,*[25] *and having thus redeemed it, receiveth it from off the Altar by the Dean of* Westminster, *and draweth it out of the Scabbard, and carries it naked before Her Majesty during the rest of the solemnity.* Offered and redeemed.

The Archbishops and Bishops who had assisted during this Oblation will return to their Places.

"*The king standing up, the sword is girt about him by the Lord Great Chamberlain, or some other peer thereto by him appointed, and then the King sitting down, the Archbishop saith:*

"Remember Him of whom the royal Psalmist did prophesy, saying, 'Gird thee with thy sword upon thy thigh, O Thou most mighty, good luck have Thou with thine honour, ride on prosperously, because of truth, meekness, and righteousness;' and be thou a follower of Him. With this sword do justice, *etc.*:" as in the text.

24 "and so faithfully represent." George IV. "and so represent." George II.

25 "namely, a hundred shillings" George IV. and George II.

SECT. X.[26]

The Investing with the *Royal Robe,*[27] and the Delivery of the *Orb.*

The Royal Robe.

Then the Queen arising, the Imperial Mantle, *or* Dalmatic Robe, *of Cloth of Gold, lined or furred with*

[26] With a few verbal differences, of no importance, this whole section agrees with the corresponding one in the order drawn up for K. William IV., and in both Forms we have to regret the entire omission, (as in the case also of Q. Anne?) of "the investing with the Armill."

It will be well first to transcribe this omitted part, as appointed in the order of George II.

"Sect. x. The investing with the *Armill* and *Royal Robe,* and the delivery of the *Orb.*

"*Then the king arising, the Dean of Westminster takes the Armill from the master of the great wardrobe, and putteth it about his majesty's neck, and tyeth it to the bowings of his arms, above and below the elbows, with silk strings; the archbishop standing before the king, and saying;*

Receive this Armill as a token of the Divine Mercy embracing you on every side." Then follows the putting on of "the Robe Royal," or "Imperial Mantle."

In the printed copies of the order of K. George IV. this section is the same as in that of George II.: but in the copy, before mentioned as corrected by the York Herald, it would seem that for some cause or other, after the book was printed for use, an alteration was made, and, (I am bound to add) a blunder was very carefully arranged. For it was so managed (by whose advice I know not) that contrary to all precedent, the Armill was put on after the Dalmatic. The correction reads thus:

"Sect. X. The investing with the *Royal Robe* and the *Armill,* and the delivery of the *Orb.*

"*Then the king arising, the Dean of Westminster takes the royal robe or dalmatic robe of state, of cloth of gold, delivered to him by the master of the great wardrobe, and puts it upon the king, standing, the crimson robe which he wore before being first taken off by the Lord Great Chamberlain, and then the Armill, with which the dean will also invest his majesty, standing before the king, and saying:* Receive, *etc.*"

Ermins, is by an Officer of the Wardrobe delivered to the Dean of Westminster, *and by him put upon the Queen, standing; The Queen having received it, sits down, and then the* Orb *with the Cross is brought from the Altar by the Dean of* Westminster, *and delivered into the Queen's Right Hand by the Archbishop, pronouncing this Blessing and Exhortation:* The Orb.

RECEIVE this Imperial Robe, and Orb, and the Lord Your God endue You with Knowledge and Wisdom, with Majesty and with Power from on High; The Lord clothe You with the Robe of Righteousness, and with the Garments of Salvation. And when You see this Orb set under the Cross, remember that the whole World is subject to the Power and Empire of Christ our Redeemer. For He is the Prince of the Kings of the Earth; King of Kings, and Lord of Lords: So that no man can reign happily, who derives not his Authority from Him, and directs not all his Actions according to His Laws.

The investing with the Armill, as before remarked, was observed in the coronations before that of K. William IV.: but the form of words varied; for example, in King James I.'s time:

"Receive the Armill, as a token of God's embracing, whereby all thy works may be defended against thy enemies, both bodily and ghostly, through Christ our Lord."

[27] This now called "Royal Robe" is the ancient pallium: the "open pall," as it is called in the orders of Charles II. and James II. The form of words in the last named order, is similar somewhat to the form in the text: but in the orders of Charles II. and James I., the ancient words of delivery were still used:

"*Then the mantle or open Pall is put on by the Dean of Westminster: the archbishop saying:*

"Receive this Pall, which is formed with four corners, to let thee understand, that the four quarters of the world are subject to the power of God, and that no man can happily reign upon earth, who hath not received his authority from heaven." James I.

The Queen delivers Her Orb to the Dean of Westminster, *to be by him laid on the Altar.*

SECT. XI.

The Investiture *per Annulum et Baculum.*[28]

The Ring.

Then an Officer of the Jewel House delivers to the Lord Chamberlain the Queen's Ring, *who delivers the same to the Archbishop, in which a Table Jewel is enchased; the Archbishop puts it on the Fourth Finger of Her Majesty's Right Hand,*[29] *and saith;*

RECEIVE this Ring, the Ensign of Kingly Dignity, and of Defence of the Catholic Faith; and as You are this day solemnly invested in the Government of this earthly Kingdom,[30] so may You be sealed with that Spirit of Promise, which is the Earnest of an heavenly Inheritance, and reign with Him who is the blessed and only Potentate, to whom be Glory for ever and ever. *Amen.*

The Sceptre and Rod.

Then the Dean of Westminster *brings the* Sceptre *and* Rod *to the Archbishop; and the Lord of the Ma-*

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[28] In the orders of the xvij. century, the putting on of the crown preceded the delivery of the ring and sceptre. "The investiture per annulum et baculum," first appears as a title, like "the recognition," in Sandford's account of the coronation of James II.

[29] In James I.: "*Then he putteth the ring on his wedding finger, saying,*

"Receive the ring, *etc.*" The forms of words in the orders of the xvijth century, differ very considerably in the whole of this part of the service, but I do not think it necessary to transcribe the whole of them.

[30] This sentence stood thus in the order for George II. "That as you are this day consecrated head of this kingdom and people." I do not see why it should have been altered.

nour of Worksop (*who claims to hold an Estate by the Service of presenting to the Queen a Right Hand Glove on the Day of Her Coronation, and supporting the Queen's Right Arm whilst She holds the Sceptre with the Cross*) *delivers to the Queen a* Pair *of* rich Gloves, *and upon any Occasion happening afterwards, supports Her Majesty's Right Arm, or holds Her Sceptre by Her.*

The Gloves being put on, the Archbishop delivers the Sceptre, with the Cross, into the Queen's Right Hand, saying, The Gloves.

RECEIVE the Royal Sceptre, the Ensign of Kingly Power and Justice.

And then he delivers the Rod with the Dove, into the Queen's Left Hand, and saith,

RECEIVE the Rod of Equity and Mercy: and God, from whom all holy desires, all good counsels, and all just works do proceed, direct and assist You in the Administration and Exercise of all those Powers which he hath given You. Be so merciful, that You be not too remiss; so execute Justice, that you forget not Mercy. Judge with Righteousness, and reprove with Equity, and accept no Man's Person. Abase the Proud, and lift up the Lowly; punish the Wicked, protect and cherish the Just, and lead your People in the way wherein they should go: thus in all things following His great and holy Example, of whom the Prophet *David* said "Thou lovest Righteousness, and hatest Iniquity; The Sceptre of thy Kingdom is a right Sceptre;" even Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

SECT. XII.

The putting on of the Crown.

K. Edward's Crown.

The Archbishop, standing before the Altar, taketh the Crown into his Hands, and laying it again before him upon the Altar, saith;

O GOD, who crownest thy faithful Servants with Mercy and loving Kindness; Look down upon[31] this thy Servant VICTORIA our Queen, who now in lowly Devotion boweth Her Head to thy Divine Majesty; and as thou dost this day set a Crown of pure Gold upon Her Head, so enrich Her Royal Heart with thy heavenly Grace; and crown Her with all Princely Virtues, which may adorn the high Station wherein thou hast placed Her, through Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom be Honour and Glory for ever and ever. *Amen.*

Here the Queen must be put in mind to bow her Head.

The Queen crowned.

Then the Queen still sitting in King Edward's *Chair, the Archbishop, assisted with the same Archbishops, and Bishops as before, comes from the Altar; the Dean of* Westminster *brings the Crown, and the Archbishop taking it of him, reverently putteth it upon the Queen's Head. At the sight whereof the People, with loud and repeated Shouts, cry,* God Save the Queen, *and the* Trumpets *sound, and by a Signal given, the great Guns at the* Tower *are shot off. As soon as the Queen is crowned, the Peers, &c. put on their Coronets and Caps.*

The Acclamation ceasing, the Archbishop goeth on, and saith,[32]

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[31] "Bless and sanctify this thy servant." *George II.*

[32] This, (with some alterations) the ancient benediction, was pre-

BE strong and of a good Courage: Observe the Commandments of God, and walk in His Holy ways: Fight the good Fight of Faith, and lay hold on Eternal life; that in this World You may be crowned with Success and Honour, and when You have finished Your Course, receive a Crown of Righteousness, which God the Righteous Judge shall give You in that Day. *Amen.*

Then the Choir singeth this Anthem:

ANTHEM.

THE Queen shall rejoice in Thy Strength, O Lord: exceeding glad shall She be of Thy Salvation. Thou hast prevented Her with the Blessings of Goodness, and hast set a Crown of pure Gold upon Her Head. Hallelujah. *Amen.*

SECT. XIII.

The presenting of the Holy Bible.[33]

Then shall the Dean of Westminster *take the* Holy Bible, *which was carried in the Procession, from off the Altar, and deliver it to the Archbishop, who with the same Archbishops and Bishops as before going along with him, shall present it to the Queen, first saying these Words to Her:* The Bible.

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ceded in the orders of the xvijth century, by two other sentences. It was restored to its former state in the Form for George IV.

[33] This part of the ceremony, was introduced (I believe for the first time,) at the coronation of K. William III. and Queen Mary. Whensoever introduced, it was prompted by a truly religious spirit, and is to be much approved of upon sound and Christian principles. The form of words was considerably longer before the order for George IV. But I do not think that the present one has omitted anything to be desired.

OUR Gracious Queen; we present You with this *Book*, the most valuable thing that this world affords. Here is Wisdom; This is the Royal Law; These are the lively Oracles of God. Blessed is he that readeth, and they that hear the Words of this Book; that keep, and do, the things contained in it. For these are the Words of Eternal Life, able to make you wise and happy in this world, nay wise unto salvation, and so happy for evermore, through Faith which is in Christ Jesus; to whom be Glory for ever. *Amen.*

Then the Queen delivers back the Bible to the Archbishop, who gives it to the Dean of Westminster, *to be reverently placed again upon the Holy Altar, the Archbishops and Bishops who had assisted returning to their Seats.*

SECT. XIV.

The Benediction, and *Te Deum.*

And now the Queen having been thus anointed and crowned, and having received all the Ensigns of Royalty, the Archbishop solemnly blesseth Her: And all the Bishops, with the rest of the Peers, follow every part of the Benediction, with a loud and hearty Amen.

The Benediction.

THE Lord bless and keep you: The Lord make the light of his Countenance to shine for ever upon you, and be gracious unto you: The Lord protect you in all your ways, preserve you from every evil thing, and prosper you in every thing good. *Amen.*

The Lord give you a faithful Senate, wise and upright Counsellors and Magistrates, a loyal Nobility, and a dutiful Gentry; a pious and learned and useful Clergy; an honest, industrious, and obedient Commonalty. *Amen.*

In your days may Mercy and Truth meet together, and Righteousness and Peace kiss each other; May Wisdom and Knowledge be the Stability of your Times, and the Fear of the Lord your Treasure. *Amen.*

The Lord make your Days many, your Reign prosperous, your Fleets and Armies victorious: and may you be reverenced and beloved by all your Subjects, and ever increase in Favour with God and man. *Amen.*

The glorious Majesty of the Lord our God be upon you: may He bless you with all temporal and spiritual Happiness in this world, and crown you with Glory and Immortality in the world to come. *Amen.*[34]

Then the Archbishop turneth to the People, and saith:

AND the same Lord God Almighty grant, that the Clergy and Nobles assembled here for this great and solemn Service, and together with them all the People of the Land, fearing God, and honouring the Queen, may by the merciful Superintendency of the Divine Providence, and the vigilant Care of our gracious Sovereign, continually enjoy Peace, Plenty, and Prosperity, through Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom, with the Eternal Father, and God the Holy Ghost, be Glory in the Church world without end. *Amen.*

[35] *Then the Choir begins to sing the* Te Deum, *and* Te Deum.

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[34] The order of K. George IV. adds:

"The Lord give you a religious and virtuous posterity to rule these kingdoms in all ages. *Amen.*"

[35] There were proper reasons why the following rubric was omitted in the order for her present Majesty; but, if it was not unseemly that former sovereigns should have vouchsafed so great a token of respect and of religious fellowship and love, it is not

the Queen goes to the Chair on which Her Majesty first sate on the East Side of the Throne, the Two Bishops Her Supporters, the Great Officers, and other Peers, attending Her, every one in his place, the two Swords being carried before Her, and there reposes Herself.

Te Deum.

WE praise thee, O God: we acknowledge thee to be the Lord.

All the earth doth worship thee: the Father everlasting.

To thee all angels cry aloud: the heavens, and all the powers therein.

To thee Cherubin and Seraphin: continually do cry,

Holy, holy, holy: Lord God of Sabaoth.

Heaven and earth are full of the majesty: of thy glory.

The glorious company of the Apostles: praise thee.

The goodly fellowship of the Prophets: praise thee.

The noble army of Martyrs: praise thee.

The holy Church throughout all the world: doth acknowledge thee;

The Father: of an infinite Majesty;

Thine honourable, true: and only Son;

Also the Holy Ghost: the Comforter.

Thou art the King of Glory: O Christ.

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easy to say why the Form drawn up for K. William IV. should have been the first in which it was struck out.

"The Blessing being thus given, the King sitting down in his chair, vouchsafeth to kiss the archbishop and bishops assisting at his coronation. They kneeling before him one after another." The kneeling would be, of course, as in the after act of doing homage.

Thou art the everlasting Son: of the Father.

When thou tookest upon thee to deliver man: thou didst not abhor the virgin's womb.

When thou hadst overcome the sharpness of death: thou didst open the kingdom of heaven to all believers.

Thou sittest at the right hand of God: in the glory of the Father.

We believe that thou shalt come: to be our Judge.

We therefore pray thee, help thy servants: whom thou hast redeemed with thy precious blood.

Make them to be numbered with thy saints: in glory everlasting.

O Lord, save thy people: and bless thine heritage.

Govern them: and lift them up for ever.

Day by day: we magnify thee.

And we worship thy Name: ever world without end.

Vouchsafe, O Lord: to keep us this day without sin.

O Lord, have mercy upon us: have mercy upon us.

O Lord, let thy mercy lighten upon us: as our trust is in thee.

O Lord, in thee have I trusted: let me never be confounded.

SECT. XV.—The Inthronization.

The Te Deum *being ended, the Queen will ascend the Theatre, and be lifted up into Her Throne by the Archbishop and Bishops, and other Peers of the Kingdom, and being* Inthronized, *or placed therein, all the* Great Officers, *Those that bear the* Swords *and the* Sceptres, *and the rest of the* Nobles, *stand round about the steps of*

the Throne, and the Archbishop, standing before the Queen, saith;

STAND firm, and hold fast from henceforth the Seat and State of Royal and Imperial Dignity, which is this day delivered unto you in the Name, and by the Authority of Almighty God, and by the Hands of Us the Bishops and Servants of God, though unworthy: And as you see Us to approach nearer to God's Altar, so vouchsafe the more graciously to continue to Us your Royal Favour and Protection. And the Lord God Almighty, whose Ministers we are, and the Stewards of his Mysteries, establish your Throne in Righteonsness, that it may stand fast for evermore, like as the Sun before Him, and as the faithful Witness in Heaven. *Amen.*

SECT. XVI.—The Homage.

The Homage. *The Exhortation being ended, all the Peers then present do their Homage publickly and solemnly unto the Queen upon the Theatre, and in the mean time the Treasurer of the Household throws among the People Medals of Gold and Silver, as the Queen's Princely Largess or Donative.*

Of the Bishops: *The Archbishop first kneels down before Her Majesty's Knees, and the rest of the Bishops kneel on either Hand, and about him; and they do their Homage together, for the shortening of the Ceremony, the Archbishop saying:*

I *WILLIAM* Archbishop of *Canterbury* [*And so every one of the rest,* I *N.* Bishop of *N. repeating the rest audibly after the Archbishop*] will be faithful and true, and Faith and Truth will bear, unto you our

Sovereign Lady, and your Heirs Kings or Queens of the United Kingdom of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*. And I will do, and truly acknowledge the Service of the Lands which I claim to hold of you, as in right of the Church. So help me God.

Then the Archbishop kisseth the Queen's Hand, and so the rest of the Bishops present after him.

After which the other Peers of the Realm do their Homage in like manner, the Dukes first by themselves, and so the Marquesses, the Earls, the Viscounts, and the Barons, severally; the first of each Order kneeling before her Majesty, and the rest with and about him, all putting off their Coronets, and the first of each Class beginning, and the rest saying after him: **Of the other Peers.**

I *N.* Duke, or Earl, *&c.* of *N.* do become your Liege man of Life and Limb, and of earthly worship, and Faith and Truth I will bear unto you, to live and die, against all manner of Folk. So help me God.

Note, *That Copies of this Homage must be provided by the Heralds for every Class of the Nobility.*

The Peers having done their Homage, stand all together round about the Queen; and each Class or Degree going by themselves, or (as it was at the Coronation of King Charles *the First and Second) every Peer one by one in Order, putting off their Coronets, singly ascend the Throne again, and stretching forth their hands, do touch the Crown on Her Majesty's Head, as promising by that Ceremony to be ever ready to support it with all their power, and then every one of them kisseth the Queen's Hand.*

While the Peers are thus doing their Homage, and

the Medals thrown about, the Queen, if She thinks good, delivers Her Sceptre *with the* Cross *to the Lord of the Manour of* Worksop, *to hold; and the other* Sceptre, *or* Rod, *with the* Dove, *to the Lord that carried it in the Procession.*

And the Bishops that support the Queen in the Procession may also ease Her, by supporting the Crown, as there shall be occasion.

During the performance of the Homage the Choir sing this

ANTHEM.[36]

THIS is the day which the Lord hath made, we will rejoice and be glad in it.

Lord, grant the Queen a long life: that her years may endure throughout all generations.

She shall dwell before God for ever: O prepare thy loving mercy and faithfulness, that they may preserve her.

Blessed be the Lord thy God, who delighted in Thee to set Thee on the throne.

When the Homage is ended, the Drums beat, and the Trumpets sound, and all the People shout, crying out,

God save Queen VICTORIA.
Long live Queen VICTORIA.
May the Queen live for ever.

The Solemnity of the Coronation *being thus ended, the Archbishop leaves the Queen in Her Throne, and goes down to the Altar.*[37]

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[36] This Anthem has varied in the different Orders.

[37] Here follows "the Queen's Coronation" in those Orders, for

SECT. XVII.—The Communion.

Then the Offertory begins, the Archbishop reading these Sentences.

LET your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in Heaven. The Offertory.

Charge them who are rich in this world, that they be ready to give, and glad to distribute; laying up in store for themselves a good foundation against the time to come, that they may attain eternal life.[38]

The Queen descends from Her Throne, attended by Her Supporters, and assisted by the Lord Great Chamberlain, the Sword of State being carried before Her, and goes to the Steps of the Altar, where taking off Her Crown, which She delivers to the Lord Great Chamberlain to hold, She kneels down.[39]

And first the Queen *offers* Bread *and* Wine *for the Communion, which being brought out of King* Edward's *Chapel, and delivered into Her Hands, the* Bread *upon the* Paten *by the* Bishop *that read the* Epistle, *and the* Wine *in the* Chalice *by the* Bishop *that read the* Gospel, The Queen offers Bread and Wine.

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example, of George II. and William IV., where it was required. The reader will find it at the end of the present Order in the text.

[38] "*Then the organ plays, and the choir singeth, Anthem.* Let my prayer come up into thy presence as incense, and let the lifting up of my hands be as an evening sacrifice." Order of George II.

[39] I have already made some remark upon this rubric in the preliminary dissertation: and shall merely repeat here, that its introduction was most praiseworthy. In the earlier forms of William IV. George IV. *etc.* it stood thus;

"The king descends from his throne, supported and attended as before; and goes to the steps of the altar, and kneels down there."

are by the Archbishop received from the Queen, *and reverently placed upon the Altar, and decently covered with a fair linen Cloth, the Archbishop first saying this Prayer:*

BLESS, O Lord, we beseech thee, these thy Gifts, and sanctify them unto this holy use, that by them we may be made partakers of the Body and Blood of thine only begotten Son Jesus Christ, and fed unto everlasting life of Soul and Body: And that thy Servant Queen VICTORIA may be enabled to the discharge of her weighty Office, whereunto of thy great goodness thou hast called and appointed Her. Grant this, O Lord, for Jesus Christ's sake, our only Mediator and Advocate. *Amen.*

Then the Queen, kneeling as before, makes her second Oblation, a Purse *of* Gold, *which the* Treasurer *of the* Household *delivers to the* Lord Great Chamberlain, *and he to* Her Majesty. *And the Archbishop, coming to Her, receives it into the Bason, and placeth it upon the Altar.*[40]

After which the Archbishop says,

O GOD, who dwellest in the high and holy place, with them also who are of an humble spirit; Look down mercifully upon this thy Servant VICTORIA our Queen, here humbling Herself before Thee at thy Footstool; and graciously receive these *Oblations*, which in humble acknowledgement of thy Sovereignty over all, and of thy great Bounty to Her in particular,

[40] The whole of the corresponding rubric, and the succeeding prayer, although in the printed books of the order of Geo. IV., appear to have been struck out before the actual solemnity. It is erased, in the copy before me, with a pen, by the York Herald.

She has now offered up unto thee, through Jesus Christ, our only Mediator and Advocate. *Amen.*

Then the Queen *goes to Her* Chair *on the South Side of the Altar, and kneeling down at Her Faldstool, the Archbishop saith:*

Let us pray for the whole state of Christ's Church militant here in earth.

ALMIGHTY and everliving God, who by thy holy Apostle hast taught us to make prayers and supplications, and to give thanks for all men: We humbly beseech thee most mercifully to receive these our prayers which we offer unto thy Divine Majesty, beseeching thee to inspire continually the universal Church with the spirit of truth, unity, and concord: and grant that all they that do confess thy holy Name, may agree in the truth of thy holy Word, and live in unity and godly love. We beseech thee also to save and defend all Christian Kings, Princes, and Governors; and specially thy Servant VICTORIA our Queen, that under her we may be godly and quietly governed: and grant unto her whole Council, and to all that are put in authority under her, that they may truly and indifferently minister justice, to the punishment of wickedness and vice, and to the maintenance of thy true religion and virtue. Give grace, O heavenly Father, to all Bishops and Curates, that they may both by their life and doctrine set forth thy true and lively Word, and rightly and duly administer thy holy Sacraments: And to all thy people give thy heavenly grace, and especially to this Congregation here present, that with meek heart and due reverence they may hear and receive thy holy Word, truly serving Communion Office.

thee in holiness and righteousness all the days of their life. And we most humbly beseech thee of thy goodness, O Lord, to comfort and succour all them who in this transitory life are in trouble, sorrow, need, sickness, or any other adversity. And we also bless thy holy Name, for all thy servants departed this life in thy faith and fear; beseeching thee to give us grace so to follow their good examples, that with them we may be partakers of thy heavenly kingdom. Grant this, O Father, for Jesus Christ's sake, our only Mediator and Advocate. *Amen.*

The Exhortation.

YE that do truly and earnestly repent you of your sins, and are in love and charity with your neighbours, and intend to lead a new life, following the Commandments of God, and walking from henceforth in his holy ways; Draw near with faith, and take this holy Sacrament to your comfort; and make your humble confession to Almighty God, meekly kneeling upon your knees.

The general Confession.

ALMIGHTY GOD, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Maker of all things, Judge of all men; We acknowledge and bewail our manifold sins and wickedness, Which we from time to time most grievously have committed, By thought, word, and deed, Against thy Divine Majesty, Provoking most justly thy wrath and indignation against us. We do earnestly repent, And are heartily sorry for these our misdoings; The remembrance of them is grievous unto us; The burden of them is intolerable. Have mercy upon us, have mercy upon us, most merciful Father;

For thy Son our Lord Jesus Christ's sake, Forgive us all that is past, And grant that we may ever hereafter serve and please thee, In newness of life, To the honour and glory of thy name, Through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

The Absolution.

ALMIGHTY GOD our heavenly Father, who of his great mercy hath promised forgiveness of sins to all them that with hearty repentance, and true faith, turn unto him; Have mercy upon you, pardon and deliver you from all your sins, confirm and strengthen you in all goodness, and bring you to everlasting life, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

After which shall be said,

Hear what comfortable words our Saviour Christ saith unto all that truly turn to him.

COME unto me, all that travail, and are heavy laden, and I will refresh you. S. *Matth.* 11. 28.

So God loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, to the end that all that believe in him, should not perish, but have everlasting life. S. *John* 3. 16.

Hear also what Saint Paul saith.

This is a true saying, and worthy of all men to be received, That Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners. 1 *Tim.* 1. 15.

Hear also what Saint John saith.

If any man sin, we have an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous, and he is the propitiation for our sins. 1 S. *John* 2. 1.

After which the Archbishop shall proceed, saying,

Archb. Lift up your hearts.
Answ. *We lift them up unto the Lord.*
Archb. Let us give thanks unto our Lord God.
Answ. *It is meet and right so to do.*

Then shall the Archbishop turn to the Lord's Table, and say,

IT is very meet, right, and our bounden duty, that we should at all times, and in all places, give thanks unto thee, O Lord, holy Father, Almighty, Everlasting God:

WHO hast at this time given us thy Servant our Sovereign Queen VICTORIA to be the Defender of thy Faith, and the Protector of thy People; that under Her we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all Godliness and Honesty.

THEREFORE with Angels and Archangels, and with all the company of heaven, we laud and magnify thy glorious Name, evermore praising thee, and saying, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of hosts, heaven and earth are full of thy glory. Glory be to thee, O Lord most high. *Amen.*

The Prayer of Address.

WE do not presume to come to this thy Table, O merciful Lord, trusting in our own righteousness, but in thy manifold and great mercies. We are not worthy so much as to gather up the crumbs under thy Table. But thou art the same Lord, whose property is always to have mercy; Grant us therefore, gracious Lord, so to eat the Flesh of thy dear Son Jesus Christ, and to drink his Blood, that our sinful bodies may be made clean by his Body, and our souls

washed through his most precious Blood, and that we may evermore dwell in him, and he in us. *Amen.*

The Prayer of Consecration.

ALMIGHTY GOD, our heavenly Father, who of thy tender mercy didst give thine only Son Jesus Christ to suffer death upon the Cross, for our redemption, who made there (by his one oblation of himself once offered) a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world, and did institute, and in his holy Gospel command us to continue a perpetual memory of that his precious Death, until his coming again; Hear us, O merciful Father, we most humbly beseech thee, and grant that we receiving these thy creatures of Bread and Wine, according to thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of his Death and Passion, may be partakers of his most blessed Body and Blood: who in the same night that he was betrayed (*a*) took bread, and when he had given thanks (*b*) he brake it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, Take, eat, (*c*) this is my Body which is given for you, do this in remembrance of me. Likewise after supper (*d*) he took the cup, and when he had given thanks, he gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of this, for this (*e*) is my Blood of the New Testament, which is shed for you and for many for the remission of sins: Do this, as oft as ye shall drink it, in remembrance of me. *Amen.*

(a) *Here the Archbishop is to take the paten into his hands:*

(b) *And here to break the bread:*

(c) *And here to lay his hand upon all the bread.*

(d) *Here he is to take the cup into his hand:*

(e) *And here to lay his hand upon every vessel (be it chalice or flagon) in which there is any wine to be consecrated.*

When the Archbishop, *and* Dean *of* Westminster, *with the* Bishops Assistants, *namely, the* Preacher, *and*

The Queen communicates.

those who read the Litany, *and the* Epistle and Gospel, *have communicated in both kinds, the* Queen *advances to the Altar and kneels down, and the Archbishop shall administer the Bread, and the Dean of* Westminster *the Cup, to Her.*

At the Delivery of the Bread shall be said,

THE Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life. Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on him in thy heart by faith with thanksgiving.

At the Delivery of the Cup.

THE Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life. Drink this in remembrance that Christ's blood was shed for thee, and be thankful.[41]

The Queen then puts on Her Crown, and taking the Sceptres in Her Hands again, repairs to Her Throne.[42]

Post-Communion.

Then the Archbishop *goeth on to the* Post-Communion, *saying,*

OUR Father, which art in heaven; Hallowed be thy Name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth, As it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses, As

[41] In all the Orders which preceded that of K. William IV. we find this rubric, or to the same effect. "While the king receives, the Bishop (Bishops, Geo. II. *etc.*) appointed for that service, shall hold a towel of white silk, or fine linen, before him." Order of George IV.

I must again confess, that I do not perceive the reason why it should have been, of late, omitted.

[42] Introduced for the first time in the Order of the text.

we forgive them that trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation; But deliver us from evil. For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, For ever and ever. *Amen.*

Then this Prayer.

O LORD and heavenly Father, we thy humble servants entirely desire thy Fatherly Goodness, mercifully to accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving; most humbly beseeching thee to grant, that by the merits and death of thy Son Jesus Christ, and through faith in his Blood, we and all thy whole Church may obtain remission of our sins, and all other benefits of his Passion. And here we offer and present unto thee, O Lord, ourselves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice unto thee; humbly beseeching thee, that all we, who are partakers of this holy Communion, may be fulfilled with thy grace and heavenly benediction. And although we be unworthy, through our manifold sins, to offer unto thee any sacrifice; yet we beseech thee to accept this our bounden duty and service; not weighing our merits, but pardoning our offences, through Jesus Christ our Lord; by whom, and with whom, in the unity of the Holy Ghost, all honour and glory be unto thee, O Father Almighty, world without end. *Amen.*

Then shall be said,

GLORY be to God on high, and in earth peace, good will towards men. We praise thee, we bless thee, we worship thee, we glorify thee, we give thanks to thee for thy great glory, O Lord God, heavenly King, God the Father Almighty.

O Lord, the only begotten Son Jesu Christ; O Lord

God, Lamb of God, Son of the Father, that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us. Thou that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us. Thou that takest away the sins of the world, receive our prayer. Thou that sittest at the right hand of God the Father, have mercy upon us.

For thou only art holy, thou only art the Lord, thou only, O Christ, with the Holy Ghost, art most high in the glory of God the Father. *Amen.*

The Choir then sing the following Anthem.[43]

ANTHEM.

HALLELUJAH: For the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth. The kingdom of this World, is become the kingdom of our Lord, and of his Christ. And he shall reign for ever and ever, King of Kings, and Lord of Lords. Hallelujah.

After the Anthem the Archbishop reads the final Prayers.

SECT. XVIII.—The final Prayers.

ASSIST us mercifully, O Lord, in these our supplications and prayers, and dispose the way of thy servants towards the attainment of everlasting salvation; that among all the changes and chances of this mortal life, they may ever be defended by thy most gracious and ready help, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

O LORD our God, who upholdest and governest all things in Heaven and Earth; Receive our

[43] Introduced for the first time in the Order in the text.

humble prayers, with our thanksgivings, for our Sovereign Lady VICTORIA, set over us by thy good providence to be our Queen: And so together with her bless ADELAIDE the Queen Dowager, and the rest of the Royal Family, that they ever trusting in thy goodness, protected by thy power, and crowned with thy favour, may continue before thee in health and peace, in joy and honour, a long and happy life upon earth, and after death may obtain everlasting life and glory in the kingdom of Heaven, through the merits and mediation of Jesus Christ our Saviour; who with thee, O Father, and the Holy Spirit, liveth and reigneth ever one God, world without end. *Amen.*

ALMIGHTY GOD, who hast promised to hear the petitions of them that ask in thy Son's Name; We beseech thee mercifully to incline thine ears to us that have made now our prayers and supplications unto thee, and grant that those things which we have faithfully asked according to thy will, may effectually be obtained, to the relief of our necessity, and to the setting forth of thy glory, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

THE peace of God, which passeth all understanding, keep your hearts and minds in the knowledge and love of God, and of his Son Jesus Christ our Lord: And the blessing of God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, be amongst you, and remain with you always. *Amen.*

SECT. XIX.—The Recess.

The Proceeding into King Edward's Chapel: Of the Queen.

THE *whole Coronation Office being thus performed, the* Queen *attended and accompanied as before, the four Swords being carried before Her, descends from*

Her Throne Crowned, and carrying Her Sceptre *and* Rod *in Her Hands, goes into the Area Eastward of the Theatre, and passes on through the Door on the* South side *of the* Altar *into King* Edward's Chapel; *and as She passes by the Altar, the rest of the* Regalia, *lying upon it, are to be delivered by the* Dean *of* Westminster *to the Lords that carried them in the Procession, and so they proceed in State into the Chapel, the Organ and other Instruments all the while playing.*

The Queen *being come into the Chapel, and standing before the* Altar, *will deliver the* Sceptre *with the* Dove *to the* Archbishop, *who will lay it upon the Altar there. The* Queen *will then be disrobed of Her* Imperial Mantle, *and arrayed in Her* Royal Robe *of* Purple Velvet *by the Lord Great Chamberlain.*

The Archbishop, *being still vested in his Cope, will then place the* Orb *in Her Majesty's Left Hand. And the* Gold Spurs *and* King Edward's Staff *are given into the hands of the Dean of* Westminster, *and by him laid upon the Altar. Which being done, the* Archbishop *and* Bishops *will divest themselves of their Copes, and leave them there, proceeding in their usual Habits.*

Then Her Majesty will proceed through the Choir to the West Door of the Abbey, in the same manner as She came, wearing Her Crown, *and bearing in Her Right Hand the* Sceptre *with the* Cross, *and in Her left the* Orb; *all* Peers *wearing their Coronets, and the* Archbishops *and* Bishops *their Caps.*

The Coronation of a Queen Consort.[1]

SECT. XVII.—THE QUEEN'S CORONATION.

THE Queen *having reposed Herself in Her Chair on the South side of the Altar, while the* King *was* Crowned *and* Inthronized, *as soon as the* Anthem *is ended, ariseth and goeth to the Steps of the Altar, supported by two Bishops, and there kneeleth down, whilst the Archbishop saith the following Prayer:*

ALMIGHTY GOD, the fountain of all goodness; Give ear, we beseech thee, to our prayers, and multiply thy blessings upon this thy Servant, whom in thy Name, with all humble devotion, we consecrate our *Queen:* Defend her evermore from all Dangers, ghostly and bodily; Make her a great Example of Virtue and Piety, and a Blessing to this Kingdom, through Jesus Christ our Lord, who liveth and reigneth with thee, O Father, in the Unity of the Holy Spirit, world without end. *Amen.*

This Prayer being ended, the Queen ariseth, and cometh to the Place of Her Anointing: *Which is to be at a Faldstool set for that purpose before the* Altar, *between the* Steps *and King* Edward's Chair. *And standing there, the Chief Lady that attends Her, takes* The Anointing.

[1] From the Form and Order for King William IV. and Queen Adelaide.

off Her Circle of Gold,[2] *and She kneeleth down, and four Peeresses appointed for that Service, holding a rich Pall of Silk, or Cloth of Gold, over Her, the Archbishop poureth the Holy Oil upon the Crown of Her Head, saying these Words:*

IN the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: Let the anointing with this Oil increase your honour, and the grace of God's Holy Spirit establish you, for ever and ever. *Amen.*[3]

After the Anointing the Archbishop saith this Prayer:

O MOST merciful God, pour out abundantly thy grace and blessing upon this thy Servant Queen ADELAIDE, that as by our Office and Ministry she is this day anointed, and solemnly consecrated our *Queen;* so being sanctified by thy Holy Spirit, she may continue thy faithful and devout Servant, unto her life's end, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

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[2] Among the "Necessaries to be provided by the Mr. of the Jewell House the daye of the king and queen's coronation," the first is: "A circle of gold for the queen to wear when she goeth to her coronation." *MS. Cotton. Vesp.* C. xiv.

[3] The reader will find in the preliminary dissertation, some remarks on the ancient manner of anointing the Queens of England, and which was observed until the Order for King William IV. and Queen Adelaide. The following is the rubric, &c. which follows the anointing of the head, in the Order for George II. and Queen Caroline: with which the Orders for George III.'s Queen, and for the Queen of James II. generally agree.

"*Then the chief lady assistant openeth her apparel, for the anointing her on the breast; which the archbishop also performeth, using the same words:* Let the anointing with this oil, *etc. After the anointing the archbishop saith this prayer:* O most merciful, *etc. Then the same lady closeth the Queen's robe at the breast (having first dried the place anointed) and afterwards putteth a linen coif upon her head, because of the anointing.*"

Then the Archbishop receiveth from the Master of the Jewel Office the Queen's Ring, *and putteth it upon the Fourth Finger of Her Right Hand, saying,* The Ring.

RECEIVE this Ring, the seal of a sincere Faith; and God, to whom belongeth all Power and Dignity, prosper you in this your honour, and grant you therein long to continue, fearing him always, and always doing such things as shall please him, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

Then the Archbishop taketh the Crown from off the Altar into his hands, and reverently setteth it upon the Queen's Head, saying, The Crown.

RECEIVE the Crown of glory, honour, and joy; and God the Crown of the faithful, who by our Episcopal hands (though unworthy) doth this day set a Crown of pure Gold upon your head, enrich your Royal heart with his abundant grace, and crown you with all princely virtues in this life, and with an everlasting Crown of glory in the life which is to come, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

The Queen being crowned, all the Peeresses put on their Coronets.

Then the Archbishop putteth the Sceptre into the Queen's Right Hand, and the Ivory Rod with the Dove into Her Left Hand; and sayeth this Prayer: The Sceptre and Ivory Rod.

O LORD, the giver of all perfection, Grant unto this thy Servant ADELAIDE our Queen, that by the powerful and mild Influence of her Piety and Virtue, she may adorn the high Dignity which she hath obtained, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

The Queen being thus Anointed, *and* Crowned, *and*

having received all Her Ornaments, the Choir sing this following Anthem:

ANTHEM.

HALLELUJAH: For the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth. The kingdom of this World, is become the kingdom of our Lord, and of his Christ. And he shall reign for ever and ever, King of Kings, and Lord of Lords. Hallelujah.

As soon as this Anthem *begins, the* Queen *ariseth and goeth from the Altar, supported by Her two Bishops, and so up to the Theatre. And as She passeth by the* King *on His Throne, She boweth Herself reverently to His Majesty, and then is conducted to Her Own Throne, and without any further Ceremony taketh Her place in it: Reposing Herself till She comes down, with the King, to receive the* Holy Communion.

Modus faciendi Tonsuras.

Modus faciendi tonsuras et coronas primas.[1]

IN prima ordinatione[2] clericorum, quæ potest fieri extra missam, quacunque hora ante prandium,[3] primo videndum est, et diligenter attendendum, quod sint liberi et legitimi

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[1] In the notes to this Office, and that which succeeds, of conferring Orders, I shall give the chief variations of the following manuscript pontificals: viz. the Bangor;—the Winchester;—and the Exeter. The first of these is unhappily mutilated in many parts of these offices; initial letters have been cut out, and of course with them much of the text upon the reverse of the leaves: and besides, the rubrics have been much rubbed and defaced.

As regards the arrangement of this first office, "*ad clericum faciendum,*" the Exeter pontifical does not place it immediately before the services of Ordination, as in the text and the other MSS. but immediately succeeding the "Confirmatio puerorum," and before the "Dedicatio ecclesiarum." The reader will see this by referring to the table of the contents of that pontifical, in the first volume of this work, p. cxxiij. Such an arrangement is unusual: for although the other MSS. do not agree in placing it next after the order of confirmation (as do the pontifical from which the text is taken, and another in Trinity College, Dublin, MS. B. Tab. 3. No. 7), yet they do not separate this first office, from the other forms of Ordination.

The title of this Office in the Exeter pontifical is, "Collatio primæ tonsuræ."

[2] This rubric, and the succeeding paragraph are omitted by the Bangor, Winchester, and Exeter pontificals. The second paragraph has reference to those cases in which confirmation had been neglected at its proper period, early childhood; and some particulars relating to females are mixed up with it, not concerned with the giving of the tonsure.

[3] This is contrary to the order of the present Roman pontifical, the rubric of which allows that, "*Clericatus, seu prima tonsura, quocumque die, hora, et loco con-*

diœcesis suæ,[4] *et ab episcopo confirmati, non conjugati, nec aliqua irregularitatis aut inhabilitatis*[5] *nota respersi. In quibus vero casibus episcopus potest dispensare primo cum eis dispenset, et si non sunt confirmati, confirmet eos ut supra.*[6]

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ferri potest." And in his commentary upon this, Catalani has fallen into an error, where he says that the Tonsure, "ex omnium scriptorum sententia, et ex recepta ecclesiæ praxi, quovis anni tempore, qualibet die, et hora, et loco conferri potest." *Comment. in Pontif. Rom.* Tom. 1. p. 49. That the modern Roman Use knows no limit as to time for the conferring of the Tonsure, is evident from a comparison of the rubric at the commencement of the office "De minoribus ordinibus," concerning which last it is expressly stated to be lawfully conferred "in mane tantum."

[4] The general opinion of the canonists seems to be, that a bishop might have conferred the tonsure (but not other orders, even the minor) out of his own diocese, "subditis suis." This however would be influenced by the custom of the time. The reader will find more remarks upon this subject in the preliminary dissertation.

[5] Under this head would fall ignorance, such as of the rudiments of the Faith, or to be unable to read or write. As to the first, from the earliest ages a knowledge of the creed was required of those who were to be baptized, and much more therefore of candidates for the ministry: as to the second, whatever the practice might have been, the theory in England always was, that every clerk should be able at least to read: and this was the well-known test by which men were allowed "benefit of clergy." In the thirteenth century, it was strictly forbidden by Boniface VIII, "Nequis episcopus infanti, vel illiterato tonsuram clericalem conferret, ita ut qui contrafecerit, in eo in quo peccaverit puniatur, per unum annum a collatione clericalis tonsuræ dumtaxat noverit se suspensum." *De temp. Ordin. cap. ult.*

[6] See *Vol.* 1. p. 34.

That confirmation should precede ordination to any rank or degree in the ministry of the Church, is a very ancient rule, and, I doubt not, apostolic. To this effect it would certainly seem that we should interpret the viij th canon of the council of Nice: "Περι των ὀνομαζοντων μεν ἑαυτους Καθαρους ποτε, προσερχομενων δε τῃ καθολικῃ και ἀποστολικῃ εκκλησιᾳ, εδοξε τῃ ἁγιᾳ και μεγαλῃ συνοδῳ, ὡστε χειροθετουμενους αυτους μενειν ὀυτως εν τῳ

Et debet hoc sacramentum et omnia alia, excepta causa necessitatis, a jejuno et jejunis ministrari. Masculi vero teneant masculos, et feminæ femellas, nullus tamen aut nulla proprios. Si sint adulti aut dolo capaces, prius tenentur confiteri, quia olim etiam solebant postea communicare. Et si sint ita magni quod nequeant brachiis portari, stent appodiando super pedem compatris aut commatris, quia hoc sacramentum datur ad robur, sicut Spiritus Sanctus dabatur de cœlo apostolis ad plenam constantiam Christum confitendi et prædicandi. Episcopus autem stando cum stola, aut lassatus sedendo, sed nunquam equitando, officium confirmationis exequatur.

κλήρῳ." Some have interpreted this sentence of the canon to mean, an imposition of hands by way of reconciliation only, or penance: others, that it enjoined a reordination. But the first is impossible, because the canon is speaking of some certain rite to be used only with regard to the Novatians, and none others: which was not true of penance or reconciliation. The suggestion as to reordination is equally erroneous: for the council expressly recognized the Novatian Orders, leaving (as Beverege in his Notes says) their bishops, bishops: and their priests, priests: and this learned writer appeals to the ancient scholiasts, Balsamon and Zonaras, upon the point. Cf. *Beverege*. Pandect. Canon. *Tom.* 1. *p.* 68. *Annott. Tom.* 2. *p.* 67. and *Routh*. Script. Ecc. Opusc. *Tom.* 2. *p.* 437. There is moreover no doubt that denial of the grace of confirmation was a chief heresy of the Novatians. S. Cornelius in his epistle to Fabius charges it against their leader, in a particular case: Theodoret declares the same: and as if to set the question, as to the Nicene canon, completely at rest, we have the contemporary order of the synod of Laodicea, in the year 320. "Quod ii, qui ex hæresibus, hoc est, Novatianis, —,,— convertuntur, —,,— non sunt admittendi priusquam omnem hæresin anathematizaverint, —— et tunc deinceps eos, qui apud illos fideles dicebantur, fidei symbola discentes, et sancto Chrismate inunctos, sic sancto mysterio communicare." Compare the vijth canon of the 2nd General Council, and the scholia of Balsamon and Zonaras: *Bevereg*. Pandect. *Tom.* 1. *p.* 97. 455.

Modus faciendi tonsuras[7] *vel coronas primas, et ordinandi clericos genuflectentes*[8] *coram episcopo,*[9] *hoc modo:*

Sit nomen Domini benedictum.

Ex hoc.

Adjutorium nostrum in nomine Domini.

Qui fecit.

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[7] The Winchester and Bangor MSS. begin this office with the exhortation, "Oremus, dilectissimi," &c. called by the first, the "Præfatio;" by the second, the "Benedictio ad clericum faciendum." In the Exeter pontifical we have a commencement different from the other three. "*Præfatio ad coronam faciendam.* ℣. Adjutorium nostrum. *etc.* ℟. Qui fecit. Dominus vobiscum. *Oremus.* Oremus, dilectissimi. *etc.*"

[8] "Ita vero necessariam ordinandis duxerunt genuflexionem antiqui patres, ut etiam Dominicis diebus, ac toto Paschali tempore, quo in genua procumbere nefas est, prohibitumque ex canone xx. Nicæno, suscepturos Ordines voluerint nonnisi genuflexione initiari. Quamobrem Alexander III. Pontifex Maximus relatus in Cap. II, *De Feriis*, ita inquit: 'In consecrationibus autem episcoporum, et clericorum ordinationibus, consecrans et consecraturus tantum genua flectere possunt, secundum quod consecrationis modus requirit.' Quæ verba referenda sunt ad discrimen jam superius explicatum. ——„—— Meminit denique memorati ritus et S. Ambrosius Lib. vj. *Hexameron*, Cap. ix. ubi [aliam] reddit rationem his plane verbis: 'Flexibile genu, quo præ cæteris Domini mitigatur offensa, ira mulcetur, gratia promovetur: unde ordinator, et ordinandus genua flectunt, ut divinam gratiam uterque digne promoveat, unus recipiat, alter conferat.'" *Catalani.* Comment. in Pontif. Rom. *tom.* 1. *p.* 62. Cf. Goar. *Euchol. p.* 279. *note* 10.

[9] It does not appear that the bishop was of necessity to be fully vested, except he was about to perform this office, during the celebration of the Eucharist: when of course, on account of that holy service, and not on account of the conferring the tonsure, it would be required. A MS. in the Vatican, cited by Catalani (*Comment. in Pontif. Rom. tom.* 1. *p.* 56), has a rubric very important on this point. "Prima tonsura potest dari omni tempore, sive in missa, sive extra missam, sive in mane, sive sero, dummodo episcopus habeat stolam, et ordinatus superpelliceum."

Oratio.

Oremus, dilectissimi fratres, Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, pro hoc famulo suo, qui ad deponendam comam capitis sui pro ejus amore, et exemplo beati Petri apostoli festinat, ut donet ei Spiritum Sanctum, qui propositum religionis[10] in eo perpetue conservet, et a mundi impedimentis vel sæcularibus desideriis cor ejus defendat, ut sicut immutatur vultu, ita manus dextera sua ei virtutem perfectionis et boni operis tribuat incrementum, et abjecta omni cæcitate humana, spirituales illi oculos aperiat, et lumen ei æternæ gloriæ concedat. Per Christum.

Sequitur psalmus.[11]

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[10] The other pontificals read: "qui habitum religionis."

[11] The Sarum pontifical varies very considerably from hence down to the conclusion of the office, from all the other MSS. I shall extract the remainder as it is in the Bangor Use, with which, except some unimportant differences, the Winchester and the Exeter agree.

"— æternæ gloriæ concedat. Qui vivit.

"*Deinde super tonsurandos ponatur superpelliceum, et dicat pontifex hanc orationem:* *

"Adesto, Domine, supplicationibus. *etc.*

"*Tunc omnes tonsurandi simul dicant:*

"Dominus pars hæreditatis meæ. *etc.*

"*Tunc incipiatur ps.* Conserva me, Domine. *etc. et repetatur psalmus usque ad illum versum,* Dominus pars hæreditatis.

"*Tunc quilibet tonsurandorum per se dicat eundem versum:* Dominus pars.

"*Interim pontifex ter incidat aliquam partem de capillis, primo dicens:* In nomine Patris; *secundo:* et Filii; *tertio:* et Spiritus Sancti.

"*Omnibus vero sic tonsis, dicatur residua pars psalmi, cum* Gloria Patri. *Quo finito, omnes tonsurati dicant simul hunc versum:* Dominus pars.

"*Postea incipiatur antiphona:* Hic accipiet benedictionem, *etc.*

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* This rubric occurs only in the Bangor MS.

Conserva me, Domine, quoniam speravi in te; dixi Domino, Deus meus es tu; quoniam bonorum meorum non eges.

Sanctis qui sunt in terra ejus: mirificavit omnes voluntates meas in eis.

Multiplicatæ sunt infirmitates eorum: postea acceleraverunt.

Non congregabo conventicula eorum de sanguinibus: nec memor ero nominum eorum per labia mea.

Hic quilibet ordinandus per se dicat:

Dominus pars hæreditatis meæ, et calicis mei: tu es, qui restitues hæreditatem meam mihi.

Interim episcopus incidat ter aliquam partem de capillis, primo dicens,

In nomine Patris,

Secundo,

Et Filii,

Tertio,

Et Spiritus Sancti. Amen.

Tunc dicitur residua pars psalmi.

Funes ceciderunt mihi in præclaris: enim hæreditas mea præclara est mihi.

Benedicam Dominum qui tribuit mihi intellectum: insuper et usque ad noctem increpuerunt me renes mei.

"*Ps.* Domini est terra.

"*Sequitur oratio.* Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, *etc.*

"*Oratio.* Præsta, quæsumus."

The Winchester pontifical omits from the psalm "Conserva" down to the antiphon, "Hic accipiet."

The Bangor MS. adds a rubric similar to the last of the office in the text. "*Deinde pontifex aspergat tonsuratos aqua benedicta, et roget eos ut orent pro eo, et præcipue si superstites fuerint die obitus sui.*"

Providebam Dominum in conspectu meo semper; quoniam a dextris est mihi ne commovear.

Propter hoc lætatum est cor meum, et exultavit lingua mea: insuper et caro mea requiescet in spe.

Quoniam non derelinques animam meam in inferno: nec dabis sanctum tuum videre corruptionem.

Notas mihi fecisti vias vitæ, adimplebis me lætitia cum vultu tuo: delectationes in dextera tua usque in finem.

Gloria Patri. Sicut.

Deinde repetatur antiphona:

Tu es, Domine, qui restitues hæreditatem meam mihi.

Sequatur oratio cum,

Oremus.

Præsta, quæsumus omnipotens Deus, ut hi famuli tui, quorum hodie comas capitum pro amore divino deposuimus, in tua dilectione perpetuo maneant, ut eos sine macula gratia tua in sempiternum custodiat. Per Christum.

Finita oratione sequatur psalmus.

Domini est terra, et plenitudo ejus.

Gloria Patri.

Antiphona.

Hic accipiet benedictionem a Domino, et misericordiam a Deo salutari suo: quia hæc est generatio quærentium Dominum.

Oremus.

Adesto, Domine, supplicationibus nostris, et hos famulos tuos benedicere dignare, quibus in tuo nomine sancto habitum sanctæ religionis imponimus, ut te largiente devoti in ecclesia tua persistere, et vitam percipere mereantur æternam. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

Tunc si habeatur superpelliceum, sumat episcopus illud in manu sua, et ponat circa colla singulorum dicens:

Induat te Dominus novum hominem, qui secundum Deum creatus est, in justitia, et sanctitate veritatis. Amen.

Et si non habeatur superpellicium, illa induitio omittatur.

Et episcopus prosequatur hoc modo:

Pax vobis.

vel tecum.

Oremus.

Oratio.

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, propitiare peccatis nostris, et ab omni servitute sæcularis habitus hos famulos tuos emunda, ut dum ignominiam sæcularis habitus deponunt, semper in ævum gratia perfruantur, et sicut similitudinem coronæ tuæ eos gestare facimus in capitibus, sic tua virtute hæreditatem subsequi mereantur æternam in cordibus. Per Dominum.

His finitis, aspergat episcopus tonsuratos aqua benedicta, et roget eos orare pro eo aliquid certum, et præcipue si superstites fuerint die obitus sui, et sic data benedictione recedant.

Celebratio Ordinum.

Celebratio Ordinum.[1]

IN celebratione ordinum in adventu Domini, et cæteris temporibus anni, mane vel ante præmuniantur ordinandi, quod pure de peccatis sint confessi, et qui in sacerdotali ordine esse voluerint præparent se communioni. Omnes etiam provideant de vestibus sacris sibi necessariis, et quod tonsuram habeant competentem.

Quando ordines agantur primo fiat sermo si placeat, postea fiant inhibitiones sequentes, si sint generales ordines et episcopo placuerit, ad terrorem male subintrantium sub hac forma.

Ex parte Dei omnipotentis, Patris, et Filii, et Spi-

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[1] The titles, as well as the beginnings of this office, vary considerably in the MSS. The Bangor pontifical is very short: and also mutilated in this place. But so far as it can be read, it is as follows.

"*Qualiter ordines agantur.* ——„—— *dicat archidiaconus:* Accedant qui ordinandi sunt ostiarii. *Tunc accedant immediate* ——„——„—— *: tradat eis episcopus claves ecclesiæ dicens:* Sic agite, quasi reddituri Deo rationem pro iis rebus, quæ istis clavibus recluduntur. *Tunc ducat eos archidiaconus ad ostium ecclesiæ, et tradat eis ostium. Præfatio ostiariorum.* Deum Patrem *etc.* Oremus. *Et diaconus.* Flectamus genua. Levate. *Oratio.* Domine sancte *etc.*"

The following is the order of the Winchester MS.

"*Hoc modo ordinandi sunt ostiarii: lectores: exorcistæ: acolyti: subdiaconi: diaconi: sacerdotes. Mense primo: quarto: septimo: decimo. Postquam chorus officium et kyriel' ex more finierit, introducantur omnes ordinandi, ab archidiacono, vocati ex nomine, ante domnum præsulem.*

"*Tunc his verbis unus ex ar-*

ritus Sancti, et sub pœna excommunicationis majoris, inhibemus ne aliquis ligatus impedimentis infra scriptis, contra decreta sanctorum patrum, ingerat se ad ordines recipiendos.

Primo ergo, secundo, et tertio, monemus et inhibemus sub pœna anathematis, ne quis se ingerat ordinandum, nisi prius examinata persona cum titulo matriculatus et infra scriptus fuerit et vocatus. Ne quis etiam mortalis peccati conscius, vel excommunicatus, aut suspensus, ordines recipiat, nisi prius potestatem habenti confiteatur et debite absolvatur. Ne autem ignorans ignoretur irregulares, qui secundum sacros canones ab ordinibus prohibentur, duximus seriatim et per ordinem specificandos.

Quicunque homicida. Item ecclesiarum incendiarius, seu earum fractor violenter. Item advocatus in causa sanguinis, vel notorie perjurus. Item executor sævorum tormentorum in publicis administrationibus. Item simoniacus, qui quodcumque beneficium aut titulum illicite adeptus, vel religionem taliter est ingressus.

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chidiaconis dicat ad præsulem: "Postulat hæc sancta ecclesia, *etc. Responsio episcopi:* Vide ut, *etc. Archidiaconus:* Quantum, *etc.*

Tunc fiat sermo ab episcopo communiter ad omnes de castitate, de abstinentia, et his similibus virtutibus: terribiliter interdicens, ne quis ad sacros ordines venire præsumat, qui pecuniam dare vel promittere præsumpserit; ne cum Simone Mago non benedictionem sed maledictionem inveniat.

Postea publice omnibus qui ad sacros ordines conveniunt, dicat: Auxiliante Domino, *etc.*"

The Exeter pontifical begins:

"*Qualiter ordines generales agantur. Primo fiat sermo si est dicendus. Postea fiant inhibitiones sequentes in generalibus ordinibus, si episcopo placuerit, ad terrorem male subintrantium.* Ex parte Dei omnipotentis. *etc.*"

The chief variations of this pontifical will be noticed as we proceed.

Item inventor vel fautor simoniacarum pactionum. Item apostata a fide vel religione, non reconciliatus. Item qui ab episcopis hæreticis, schismaticis, gratiam sedis apostolicæ non habentibus, scienter alias ordines recepit. Item qui sub falso titulo vel ficto, aut alias pacto inito cum suo præsentatore de hujusmodi titulo postquam ordinatus fuerit, eidem restituendo vel alias occasione hujusmodi eundem non ĩnquietando, vel qui annuam pensionem vel quodcunque emolumentum temporale præsentanti, vel promotionem procuranti, sub quocunque promiserit colore. Item per saltum ad alios ordines promotus. Item prius conjugatus, nisi hoc faciat in casu a jure permisso. Item nullus qui excommunicatus scienter ordines recepit alias, et in susceptis ministrare præsumpsit. Item bigamus, vel corruptarum maritus. Item Deo sanctarum virginum violator. Item nullus sortilegus, vel nigromanticus, vel prohibitarum artium doctor, sive fautor. Item morbo sontico, vel caduco, vel lunatico, vel alio incurabili laborans, vel corpore vitiatus. Item illegitimus, nisi fuerit cum eo sufficienter dispensatum. Item servus nativus, præter conscientiam et voluntatem domini sui. Item nullus alterius diœcesis, nisi literas dimissorias habuerit, ac etiam titulum sufficientem. Item inhibemus quod nullus ordinem subdiaconatus recipiat, nisi sit ætatis octodecim annorum, diaconatus viginti, presbyteratus viginti quatuor, et vicesimum quintum annum attigerit. Item nullus religiosus de jure vel facto non professus. Item nullus curatus beneficiatus, qui infra annum non fuerit ordinatus in presbyterum, a tempore curæ susceptæ et pacifice possessionis adeptæ, nisi ex dispensatione, qua etiam rite sit usus juxta constitutionem *cum ex eo*. Item nullus sine vero titulo, vel cujus titulus ad non

titulum est redactus, nisi in gratia speciali.[2] Quibus omnibus et singulis, durantibus impedimentis supradictis, ut ab hujusmodi ordinum susceptione se abstineant, quousque cum eis sufficienter fuerit dispensatum, præcipimus sub pœna excommunicationis majoris superius annotata.

Et bene caveatur de omni mutilatione membrorum ordinandorum in sacris. Ne sint etiam gibbosi, vel mansi, vel alias corpore vitiati, propter scandalum cleri et ecclesiæ evitandum.[3]

Sciendum est quod episcopus, per totum annum in dominicis, vel festis apostolorum, et aliis duplicibus, cum missam celebrat, si voluerit et necesse fuerit, potest ordinare acolytos, unum vel duos, et paucos vel raro. Sed non de jure potest, nec debet, eundem acolytum et subdiaconum eadem die ordinare. Quia nunc in ecclesia quatuor minores ordines, scilicet, ostiarii, lectores, exorcistæ, et acolytatus simul conferuntur, quod olim in primitiva ecclesia separatim fiebant. Et tunc licuit unum illorum minorum ordinum, scilicet, acolytatum, eadem

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[2] "*Nisi ex nostra gratia speciali.*" Pontif. Exon.

[3] "*Præmuniantur omnes ordinandi quod non recedant ante finem missæ.*" Pontif. Exon.

The Exeter pontifical omits the next three long paragraphs, and proceeds immediately to the Office: with the Mass proper to it: as follows.

"*Statuto die ordinum generalium, dicto introitu missæ cum* Kyrie eleison. *Et in oratione et ordine pro ordinandis qui sequitur.*

"Exaudi, quæsumus Domine, supplicum preces, et devoto tibi pectore famulantes perpetua defensione custodi: ut nullis perturbationibus impediti, liberam servitutem tuis semper exhibeamus officiis. Per Dominum. *Sub uno.* Per Dominum.

"*Tunc sedeat episcopus ante medium altaris, et introducantur omnes ordinandi, et stent similiter ante episcopum. Tunc unus archidiaconus voce sonora per modum lectionis versus ad episcopum dicat:*

Postulat sancta mater, *etc.*"

die dare cum subdiaconatu. Nunc vero non licet nec expedit, quia sancti patres quondam pro magno dicebant minimum ordinem recipere.

Legitur in vita Sancti Martini, quod cum beatus Hilarius, Pictavensis episcopus, eum diaconum facere vellet, non consensit, se indignum tanto gradu reputans, exorcistam tamen se fieri vix consensit. Unde valde mirandum et magis dolendum, quomodo his diebus a statu laicali, infra annum ad statum ascenditur presbyterii supremum, cum ad minus per annum integrum in omni ordine suscepto ministrare debeant, et se exercere ut digni et probati ad superiora ascendere mereantur, cum nemo repente fiat summus. Si ergo acolytatum et subdiaconatum eadem die conferre non licet, nec a multo fortiori, subdiaconatum simul et diaconatum, nec diaconatum et presbyteratum secundum decreta, primum quia graviter essent, tam ordinator quam ordinatus sint pariter puniendi.

Quatuor temporibus ergo, scilicet, sabbato in hebdomada tertia Adventus, sabbato in hebdomada prima Quadragesimæ, sabbato in hebdomada Pentecostes, quod est vigilia Sanctæ Trinitatis, et sabbato illo in Septembri quod sequitur octavam nativitatis beatæ Mariæ post festum sanctæ Crucis, generaliter potest episcopus sacros ordines celebrare. Si vero his temporibus impeditus fuerit, et necesse sit, in sabbato ante dominicam Passionis quod dicitur "Sitientes," et in sabbato quod est in vigilia Paschæ, sacros potest ordines ministrare. Alias autem nunquam.

Celebratio ordinum die Sabbati quatuor temporum.

In Adventu Domini.

Ad missam,[4] *Officium.*

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[4] There can be no question that, from the primitive ages, the conferring of Holy Orders has always been accompanied by, and

Veni et ostende nobis faciem tuam, Domine: qui sedes super Cherubin, et salvi erimus.

Ps. Qui regis Israel intende: qui deducis velut ovem Joseph.

Dum officium canitur, vocentur nominatim illi qui ordinandi sunt acolyti,[5] *quibus vocatis, et introductis, sequatur oratio sine* Dominus vobiscum, *sed tantum cum*

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formed a part of, the administration of the Eucharist. Not to mention the 8th Book of the Apost. Constitutions, it has been argued that we have the authority of the sacred Scripture for the necessity, if I may say so, of this observance. We read in the Acts of the Apostles, "As they ministered to the Lord, and fasted, the Holy Ghost said, Separate me Barnabas and Saul for the work whereunto I have called them. And when they had fasted and prayed, and laid their hands on them, they sent them away." Our translators followed the Vulgar Latin, but the original is "λειτουργούντων:" a term which not only in the other parts of the New Testament, but in the Fathers, is always used, unless qualified by the context, "pro ministerio sacrificii:" and hence the name itself of "Liturgy." In the translation by Erasmus, λειτουργούντων is rendered "sacrificantibus."

An obvious reason for this would of course be, from the probability of the presence of large numbers of both people and clergy: which in the primitive Church even during the times of persecution, was looked upon as necessary. Thus S. Cyprian says that Cornelius was consecrated, "de clericorum pene omnium testimonio, de plebis, quæ tunc affuit, suffragio, et de sacerdotum antiquorum consensu." *Epist.* 52. And again he explains why this should be: "Coram omni synagoga jubet Deus constitui sacerdotem: id est instruit, et ostendit, ordinationes sacerdotales nonnisi sub populi assistentis conscientia fieri oportere, ut plebe præsente, vel detegantur malorum crimina, vel bonorum merita prædicentur, et sit ordinatio justa, et legitima, quæ omnium suffragio et judicio fuerit examinata." *Epist.* 68.

[5] I may remark, that very anciently in the Latin Church, as we learn from the sacramentary of Gregory, the greater orders were conferred before the reading of the Gospel, and the minor after the communion. But the later practice is of high antiquity, as is shown by *Menard* from an old Ordo Romanus, and other early MSS. in his notes to that sacramentary, *p.* 271.

Oremus, *et omnes orationes sine* Dominus vobiscum *dicantur, præter ultimam ante epistolam.*

Oratio.

Deus, qui conspicis quia ex nostra pravitate affligimur, concede propitius, ut ex tua visitatione consolemur. Qui vivis.

Deinde sedeat episcopus ante altare conversus ad ordinandos, et archidiaconus[6] *capa indutus humiliter respiciens in episcopum cum his verbis alloquatur, ita dicens, stando et quasi episcopum salutando, cum nota, et quasi more lectionis legendo.*

Postulat hæc sancta ecclesia, reverende pater, hos viros ordinibus aptos consecrari sibi a vestra paternitate.

Resp. episcopi.

Vide ut natura, scientia, et moribus, tales per te introducantur, immo tales per nos in domo Domini ordinentur personæ, per quas diabolus procul pellatur, et clerus Deo nostro multiplicetur.

Resp. archidiaconi.

Quantum ad humanum spectat examen, natura, scientia, et moribus digni habentur, ut probi cooperatores effici in his, Deo volente, possint.

Quibus expletis, dicat episcopus hanc orationem publice, stando, sine nota :[7]

Auxiliante Domino, et Salvatore nostro Jesu Christo, præsentes fratres nostri in sacrum ordinem electi sunt a nobis, et clericis huic sanctæ sedi famulantibus.

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[6] " Docent tum patres, tum veteres synodi, præsertim IV. Carthaginiensis, archidiaconorum quidem esse munus ordinandos vocandi, ac præsentandi episcopo ordinatori, uti videre est in canone *Ostiarius,* Distinctione XXIV. et in cap. *Ut nostrum,* extra, *de officio archidiaconi.*" Catalani, *in Pontif. Rom. Tom.* 1. *p.* 52.

[7] " *Tunc episcopus mediocri voce :*" Rubr. Pontif. Exon.

Alii ad officium presbyterii, diaconii, vel subdiaconii, quidam vero ad cæteros ecclesiasticos gradus. Proinde admonemus et postulamus, tam vos clericos quam cæterum populum, ut pro nobis et pro illis, puro corde et sincera mente apud divinam clementiam intercedere dignemini, quatenus nos dignos faciat pro illis exaudiri: et eos unumquemque in suo ordine eligere, et consecrare per manus nostras dignetur. Siquis autem habet aliquid contra hos viros, pro Deo et propter Deum, cum fiducia exeat et dicat, verumtamen memor sit communionis suæ.[8]

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[8] "*Deinde pontifex et qui ab eo consecrandi sunt prosternantur super pavimentum: et sic agatur litania; et inter cætera dicatur:*

"Ut fratres istos, ad sacrum ordinem electos, in vera religione conservare digneris: te rogamus, audi nos.

"*His ita expletis, exeant omnes. Deinde postquam episcopus finierit primam orationem missæ, finita quoque prima lectione et gradali, iterum introducantur qui ordinandi sunt ostiarii, vocati ex nomine. Et tunc fiat sermo ab episcopo ad eos, hoc modo:*

"Ostiarius fieri dignatus est Christus, quando conclusit et aperuit archam Noe: vel cum portas inferni aperuit, et electos suos inde abstulit, reprobos autem reliquit. Unde modo ostiarii dicuntur, eo quod præsint ostiis ecclesiæ, ut sciant recipere fideles, et infideles respuere. Psalmistæ vocantur a psalmis canendis: ipsi enim canunt ut excitent ad compunctionem mentes audientium.

"*Tunc episcopus postquam ab eis requisierit, sub testimonio ecclesiæ, si talem ordinem subire, et in eo Deo humiliter servire voluerint, tradat eis claves ecclesiæ: scilicet potestatem claudendi et aperiendi ostia ecclesiæ. Ita dicens:*

"Sic agite, *etc.*" *Pontif. Winton.* With these, and the succeeding exhortations, which will be cited in the notes, compare, *S. Isidore Hisp.* Originum. *Lib.* vij.

The reader has already seen, note 1, that the Bangor MS. has no general exhortation, &c., for all who were to be ordained to whatever order, but commences at once with the "ostiarii."

In the Exeter pontifical, the notice "Auxiliante," is followed by, "*Tunc fiat sermo, si est dicendus. Sermone dicto fiat pro-*

Tunc dicat archidiaconus:

Accedant qui ordinandi sunt ostiarii.

Tunc accedant immediate antequam lectio legatur, vel gradale, ad consecrandum.

Episcopus sedens cum mitra eos instruendo dicat, sine nota:

Ostiarium oportet[9] percutere cymbalum, aperire ecclesiam, et sacrarium, et librum tenere ei qui prædicat.

Et cum ordinantur, surgens tradat eis episcopus claves ecclesiæ, et ipsi eas ambabus manibus recipiant, et dicat eis plane episcopus, stando et sine nota. Et si sint multi, stent in circuitu, et episcopus circueat eos, sæpius idem repetendo.

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hibitio, ne aliquis recipiat ordines nisi examinatus et admissus per examinatores legitime deputatos: etc. Quibus præmissis, exeant omnes ordinandi, quibus egressis dicat archidiaconus:

"Accedant qui ordinandi sunt ostiarii.

"*Tunc accedant. etc.*"

[9] Besides the larger and more general admonitions which were addressed according to the judgment of the bishop, to each order of the candidates, previously to the commencement of the service itself, it has always been the practice from the earliest ages, of which any rituals remain, to admonish also in some set form before the actual conferring of each Order. Thus it was the subject of the 3rd canon of the 3rd council of Carthage. A.D. 390: "Item placuit, ut ordinandis episcopis, vel clericis, prius ab ordinatoribus suis decreta conciliorum auribus eorum inculcentur, ne se aliquid contra statuta concilii fecisse asserant." *Concil.* edit. Mansi. *Tom.* 3. *col.* 880. And again, a few years after, in the famous 4th Council of Carthage, which forms a basis upon which succeeding Ordinals have been framed, the ixth canon has especial reference to this point, as concerned the "ostiarii," the lowest order ordained by a bishop: "Ostiarius cum ordinatur, postquam ab archidiacono instructus fuerit, qualiter in domo Dei debeat conversari, ad suggestionem archidiaconi, tradat ei episcopus claves ecclesiæ de altario, dicens: Sic age, quasi redditurus Deo rationem pro his rebus, quæ his clavibus recluduntur." *Ibid. Col.* 951.

Sic agite, quasi reddituri Deo rationem pro iis rebus,[10] quæ istis clavibus recluduntur.

Tunc ducat eos[11] *archidiaconus ad ostium ecclesiæ,*[12]

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10 "—— rebus, quæ ecclesiæ vobis commissæ clavibus includuntur." *Pontif. Winton.*

11 "*Deinde archidiaconus ducat eos ad ostium ecclesiæ: et faciat eos claudere et aperire. Postquam iterum ante domnum præsulem fuerint introducti, dicat episcopus hanc orationem:* Deum Patrem, *etc.*" *Pontif. Winton.*

"*Et archidiaconus ducat eos ad ostium ecclesiæ, quod claudant et aperiant, et revertentes stent ante gradus sicut prius. Cum autem redierint, episcopus stans juxta cornu altaris, versus austrum, extendens manum supra ordinandos, dicat orationem:* Deum Patrem, *etc.*" *Pontif. Exon.*

12 This ceremony was of later introduction than the delivery of the keys: although of such antiquity that it was introduced into the ordinal of the Western Church, before the conversion of the Saxons by S. Augustine. Hence there is no pontifical extant, of English use, in which it does not occur. Neither the Carthaginian Council, just cited, nor the Gelasian sacramentary, mentions it: but it is found in the Gregorian sacramentary, and in some very ancient MSS., still extant. A MS. pontifical, cited by *Martene,* (de Ant. Ecc. rit. Tom. 2. p. 18.) directed the bishop not to deliver the keys to the candidates, but only to shew them to them. I need scarcely perhaps remind the reader, that these keys were not the keys which were afterwards to be used, in the particular churches, to which the ostiarii were to be ordained, but any keys: and of any material: provided only, say the canonists, that in shape and form they were keys, apt and able to open some lock.

The modern Roman pontifical has introduced another ceremony in this place, one which is allowed to be modern, and for which no authority can be found in the earlier rituals. "Tradit etiam eis funem campanarum, faciens eos campanas pulsare." It was, doubtless, the duty of the ostiarii to ring the bells of the church, but not in the earliest ages: for then it was part of the office of the priest: as Amalarius says: "Ne despiciat presbyter hoc opus agere, ut in isto sit imitator filiorum Aaron." *De ecc. off. Lib.* 3. *Cap.* 1. And in Charlemagne's Capitular is an express order; "Ut sacerdotes signa tangant horis canonicis." *Lib.* vj.

et tradat eis ostium præfero ostiario, quibus reversis, dicat episcopus cum nota, stando, præfationem ad eos conversus, hoc modo.

Deum Patrem omnipotentem, fratres carissimi, suppliciter deprecemur, ut hos famulos suos bene✠dicere dignetur, quos in officium ostiariorum eligere dignatus est, ut sit eis fidelissima cura diebus ac noctibus ad distinctionem horarum certarum, ad invocandum nomen Domini nostri Jesu Christi.

Oremus.

Diaconus. Flectamus genua. Levate.

Oratio.

Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, æterne Deus, bene✠dicere dignare hos famulos tuos in officio ostiariorum, ut inter janitores ecclesiæ tuæ pareant obsequio: et inter electos tuos partem tuæ mereantur habere mercedis. Per Dominum.[13]

Omnes lectiones cum suis titulis legantur.

Lectio Isaiæ prophetæ.

Cap. 168. But long before the reformation, this duty, as I have said, had devolved upon the ostiarii; and there is a very plain reference to it in the Preface which almost immediately follows in the text. Probably the ceremony of giving them the bells, (if I may so call it) was added in the revised Roman pontifical, in order to supply what appeared to be an omission.

[13] "*Tunc exeant omnes ostiarii.*" Rubr. Pontif. Winton.

The Bangor MS. is both defaced and mutilated: no more can be read here, than,

"Accedant qui ordinand.—,, ——,,—— Accipite et estote verbi, *etc.*"

The Exeter pontifical does not include the particulars of the proper mass: it proceeds therefore,

"*Tunc sedeat episcopus, et legatur lectio prima, cum graduali, quibus dictis sequitur,* Oremus. *Et dicitur secunda oratio, qua dicta dicat archidiaconus:* Recedant qui ordinati sunt ostiarii: accedant qui ordinandi sunt lectores. *Tunc episcopus sedens dicit eis*: Lectorem oportet. *etc.*"

In diebus illis: Clamabunt ad Dominum a facie tribulantis: et mittet eis salvatorem et propugnatorem qui liberet eos. Et cognoscetur Dominus ab Ægypto: et cognoscent Ægyptii Dominum in die illa. Et colent eum in hostiis et muneribus, et vota vovebunt Domino, et solvent. Et percutiet Dominus Ægyptum plaga: et sanabit eam. Et revertentur ad Dominum et placabitur eis et sanabit eos: Dominus Deus noster.

Gr. A summo cœlo egressio ejus; et occursus ejus usque ad summum ejus.

V. Cœli enarrant gloriam Dei, et opera manuum ejus annunciat firmamentum.

Oratio.

Concede quæsumus omnipotens Deus, ut qui sub peccati jugo ex vetusta servitute deprimimur, ex peccatis unigeniti Filii tui nova nativitate liberemur. Qui tecum.

Dicta oratione, statim dicat archidiaconus:

Accedant qui ordinandi sunt lectores.

Tunc immediate accedant antequam lectio legatur, et episcopus sedendo sine nota eis dicat:

Lectorem[14] oportet legere quæ prædicat, et lectiones

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[14] *Post hæc, finita secunda oratione, et secunda lectione cum gradali, vocentur ex nomine qui ordinandi sunt lectores. Tunc exponat eis episcopus officium ordinis sui, quod sunt suscepturi:*

Lectoribus in ecclesia verba sacræ legis et prophetarum legendi datur potestas. Horum talis debet esse vita, ut quod ore annunciant, bonis operibus compleant. Et in his quæ prædicant, cæteros superemineant. Habent autem exordium a veteri testamento. Legitur vero ita: Stetit Esdras scriba super gradum ligneum quem fecerat ad loquendum; et universum eminebat populum. Stat super gradum ligneum, unde infimos supereminet, qui dominicam passionem imitando, cæteros morum probitate transcendit. Et quicunque aliquem bonis moribus instruit, lectoris officio fungitur. Hoc vero Dominus noster functus est offi-

cantare distincte, et benedicere panem et omnes fructus novos.

Et stando, vel circueundo, tradat eis codicem divinarum lectionum quem recipient inter manus, dicente episcopo sine nota, et sæpius eos repetendo, et hoc stando, sic:

Accipite,[15] et estote verbi Dei relatores, habituri, si fideliter et devote impleveritis officium vestrum, partem cum iis qui verbum Dei ministraverint.[16]

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cio, cum ingressus synagogam traditus est ei liber Isaiæ prophetæ.

"*Postea tradat eis lectionarium in quo lecturi sunt, dicens:*

"Accipite et estote. *etc.*" *Pontif. Winton.*

[15] The Bangor use, in this form, is the same as that in the text: but both the Winchester and Exeter pontificals have the following; after the word "ministraverint:" according to the *Winchester* text.

"Eligunt vos fratres vestri: ut sitis lectores in domo Domini Dei vestri, et agnoscatis officium vestrum, et impleatis illud. Potens est enim Deus, ut augeat vobis gratiam, qui cum Patre: *etc.*"

[16] We again have the authority of the primitive ages for this part of the office. The following is the viijth canon of the 4th council of Carthage.

"Lector cum ordinatur, faciat de illo verbum episcopus ad plebem, indicans ejus fidem, ac vitam, atque ingenium. Post hæc, spectante plebe, tradat ei codicem, de quo lecturus est, dicens ad eum: Accipe, et esto lector verbi Dei, habiturus, si fideliter et utiliter impleveris officium, partem cum eis qui verbum Dei ministraverint." *Mansi. Concil. Tom.* 3. *Col.* 951.

The student will observe, that in this canon, the form is in the singular number; as also above, see Note 9. But this variation in the earliest ages was, in a manner, optional: and in MSS. of the same date, we find the forms of ordination sometimes in the singular, sometimes in the plural. If only one person was to be ordained, the plural form was of course to be changed into the singular.

S. Cyprian in his 33rd epistle, alludes to the address which was previously to be made to the people. "*Ad clerum et plebem de Aurelio lectore ordinato.*——— In ordinationibus clericis, fratres carissimi, solemus vos ante consulere, et mores, ac merita singulorum communi consilio ponderare." *Opera. p.* 46.

Although the general vessels

Sequitur præfatio[17] *lectorum cum nota.*

Oremus, dilectissimi, Deum Patrem omnipotentem, ut super hos famulos suos, quos in ordinem lectorum dignatur assumere, bene✠dictionem suam clementer effundat: quatenus distincte legant quæ in ecclesia Dei legenda sunt, et eadem operibus impleant.

Oremus.

Diaconus. Flectamus genua. Levate.

Oratio.

Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, æterne Deus, bene✠dicere dignare hos famulos tuos in officio lectorum, ut assiduitate lectionum distincti[18] sint atque ordinati,[19] et agenda dicant, et dicta opere compleant,

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and ornaments of the church were delivered to the care of the "ostiarii," yet it would seem from the Acts of the African persecution, under Diocletian, that the Holy Scriptures were given into the custody of the "Lectores." For the answers of several bishops, who were required to surrender the sacred books, is there said to have been, "Scripturas lectores habent." And another remarkable reply of two subdeacons: "Plus non habemus, quia subdiaconi sumus, sed lectores habent codices." Cf. *Catalan.* Comment. *Tom.* 1. p. 84. Therefore, probably, the chief ignominy of the term "Traditores" would have lain against the "Lectores:" although Bingham in his Antiquities, upon a wide interpretation of a canon of the first council of Arles, extends it to all who betrayed any of the goods or utensils of the church. *Book.* xvi. *Cap.* vj. (*Vol.* 6. *p.* 125.)

17 "*Præfatio lectorum.*" Rubr. Pontif. Bangor.

"*Sequitur Oratio.*" Rubr. Pontif. Winton.

"*Tunc rediens ad cornu altaris, sicut prius versus austrum super ordinandos dicat.*" Rubr. Pontif. Exon.

18 The modern Roman use reads "instructi." But the English pontificals retained the term as it had been derived anciently from the Gregorian Sacramentary.

19 "—— ordinati, earum modulis spirituali devotione gratiam resonent ecclesiæ. Per." *Pontif. Winton.*

ut in utroque sanctæ ecclesiæ exemplo sanctitatis suæ consulant. Per Dominum.[20]

Lectio Isaiæ prophetæ.

Hæc dicit Dominus, lætabitur deserta et invia, et exultabit solitudo, et florebit quasi lilium. Germinans germinabit, et exultabit lætabunda et laudans. Gloria Libani data est ei: decor Carmeli et Saron. Ipsi videbunt gloriam Domini: et decorem Dei nostri. Confortate manus dissolutas: et genua debilia roborate. Dicite, pusillanimes confortamini: et nolite timere. Ecce Deus vester ultionem adducet retributionis: Deus ipse veniet et salvabit vos. Tunc aperientur oculi cæcorum, et aures surdorum patebunt. Tunc saliet sicut cervus claudus: et aperta erit lingua mutorum. Quia scissæ sunt in deserto aquæ: et torrentes in solitudine. Et quæ erat arida in stagnum: et sitiens in fontes aquarum. Dicit Dominus: Omnipotens.

Gr. In sole posuit tabernaculum suum, et ipse tanquam sponsus procedens de thalamo suo.

V. A summo cœlo egressio ejus, et occursus ejus usque ad summum ejus.

Oratio.

Indignos nos, quæsumus Domine, famulos tuos, quos

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20 "*Tunc exeant lectores. Et postquam tertia oratio missæ, et tertia lectio cum gradali finierint, vocentur ex nomine omnes qui ordinandi sunt exorcistæ.*" Pontif. Winton.

"*Tunc* —— " —— *lectione* —— " —— *responsorio et oratione* [?] *dicat archidiaconus:* Accedant qui ordinandi sunt exorcistæ." Pontif. Bangor.

"*Tunc sedeat episcopus: et legatur secunda lectio cum graduali, et sequitur tertia oratio: qua dicta, dicat archidiaconus:* Recedant qui ordinati sunt lectores: et accedant qui ordinandi sunt exorcistæ." Pontif. Exon.

actionis propriæ culpa contristat, unigeniti Filii tui adventu lætifica. Qui tecum.

Dicta tertia oratione, dicat archidiaconus:

Accedant qui ordinandi sunt exorcistæ.

Et episcopus sedens dicat eis sine nota;[21]

Exorcistæ competit abjicere dæmones, et dicere populo, qui non communicat, det locum, et aquam in ministerio fundere.

Et tradat eis episcopus stando librum, in quo scripti sunt exorcismi, modo quo supra, dicens:

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[21] "*Tunc dicat episcopus:*

"Mysterium itaque ordinis hujus quem appetitis, vobis aperire debemus. Exorcistæ adjuratores dicuntur. Per hoc vero officium, potestatem ponendi manus super energumenos, super catechumenos sive baptizatos, et ejiciendi spiritus immundos accipitis: sicut Dominus Jesus Christus potestatem dedit suis discipulis calcandi super serpentes, et scorpiones, et omnem virtutem inimici. Hoc ergo donum gratiæ Dei, ad fidem pertinet. Per fidem enim fit expulsio dæmonum, et omnia subjiciuntur vobis, ut Dominus ait. 'Amen, dico vobis, si habueritis fidem et non hæsitaveritis, si dixeritis monti huic, tolle hinc, et jactare in mare: fiet.' Timere etiam debent exorcistæ, ne dæmonibus, quibus timori esse debent per meritum religiosæ vitæ, despecti fiant: et de eis accidat quod de septem filiis Scevæ Judæi Actus Apostolorum narrant. Qui cum in nomine Pauli dæmonibus imperarent, respondit dæmonium: 'Jesum novi, et Paulum scio: vos autem, qui estis? Et insiluit in eos homo qui habebat dæmonium, et dilaceravit eos: ita ut nudi et vulnerati effugerent.' Siquis vero oratione sua vel prædicatione vitium ab aliquo expulerit, spiritualis exorcista est. Hoc etiam officio Dominus fungebatur: dum ab ipso dæmones ex obsessis corporibus ejiciebantur.

"*Deinde tradat eis episcopus libellum, id est, officialem in quo scripti sunt exorcismi: ita dicens:*

"Accipite et commendate: *etc.*" *Pontif. Winton.*

The Bangor pontifical has no admonition to the exorcists, but proceeds at once to the delivery of the book of exorcisms, with the usual form.

The Exeter MS. agrees, generally, with the text.

Accipite et commendate memoriæ, et habetote potestatem imponendi manus super energumenos, sive baptizatos, sive catechumenos.[22]

Sequitur præfatio exorcistarum.

Deum Patrem omnipotentem, fratres carissimi, supplices deprecemur, ut hos famulos suos bene✠dicere dignetur in officium[23] exorcistarum, ut sint spirituales imperatores ad abjiciendos dæmones de corporibus obsessis, cum omni nequitia eorum multiformi.

Oremus.

Diaconus. Flectamus genua. Levate.

Oratio.

Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, æterne Deus, bene✠dicere dignare hos famulos tuos in officium[24] exorcistarum, ut per[25] impositionem manuum et oris

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[22] We return again to the Carthaginian canons. "vij. Exorcista cum ordinatur, accipiat de manu episcopi libellum, in quo scripti sunt exorcismi, dicente sibi episcopo: Accipe et commenda memoriæ, et habeto potestatem imponendi manus super energumenum, sive baptizatum, sive catechumenum." *Mansi.* ut supra.

The Church of Rome, although in practice she has suffered the office of exorcists to become extinct, yet preserves the ceremony, for it is nothing more, of their ordination. And it is remarkable, that with a strange disregard both of every ancient precedent, and of the reason of the thing, her modern pontifical has this rubric:—"Liber exorcismorum, cujus loco dari potest pontificale, vel missale." *Morinus* (de Sacr. Ordin. p. 185) upon this merely observes, and *Catalani* (Comment. *tom.* 1. *p.* 86) has nothing more to say, "De formis istis et materiis disponit ecclesia, ut æquum esse judicat." The argument and the alteration, appear to be equally satisfactory.

[23] "In officio." *Bangor.* et *Exon.*

[24] "In officio." *Bangor.*

[25] "Ut per impositionem manuum et oris officium eos eligere digneris, ut potestatem et imperium habeant spirituum immundorum ad coercendum, et probabiles sint medici ecclesiæ gratia curationum, et virtute confirmati." *Pontif. Winton.*

officium, potestatem et imperium habeant spiritus immundos[26] coercendi, ut probabiles sint medici ecclesiæ tuæ, gratia curationum virtuteque cœlesti confirmati. Per Dominum.[27]

Lectio Isaiæ prophetæ.

Hæc dicit Dominus. Super montem excelsum ascende tu, qui evangelizas Sion: exalta in fortitudine vocem tuam, qui evangelizas Hierusalem. Exalta: noli timere. Dic civitatibus Judæ, Ecce Deus vester. Ecce Dominus Deus in fortitudine veniet: et brachium ejus dominabitur: ecce merces ejus cum eo: et opus illius coram illo. Sicut pastor gregem suum pascet: in brachio suo congregabit agnos, et in sinu suo levabit eos: Dominus Deus noster.

Gr. Domine Deus virtutum converte nos, et ostende faciem tuam, et salvi erimus.

V. Excita Domine potentiam tuam et veni, ut salvos facias nos.

Oratio.

Præsta, quæsumus omnipotens Deus, ut Filii tui ventura solemnitas, et præsentis nobis vitæ remedia conferat, et præmia æterna concedat. Per eundem.

Dicta quarta oratione, dicat archidiaconus modo quo supra:

Accedant qui ordinandi sunt acolyti.

Tunc accedant qui ordinandi sunt acolyti, et dicat eis episcopus[28] sine nota:

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[26] "—— immundos nequitiæ, per verbum Christi, Filii tui, Domini nostri, coercendi; atque probabiles, *etc.*" *Pontif. Exon.*

[27] "*Tunc sedeat episcopus, et legatur tertia lectio cum graduali, et sequatur oratio quarta, qua dicta, dicat archidiaconus:* "Recedant qui ordinati sunt exorcistæ: accedant qui ordinandi sunt acolyti." *Pontif. Exon:* with which agree, generally, the Winchester and Bangor MSS.

[28] With this agrees the Exeter

Acolytum oportet ceroferarium ferre, et luminaria ecclesiæ accendere:[29] vinum et aquam ad eucharistiam ministrare.[30]

Use: the Bangor omits the admonition, as was before observed: and we have the following in the Winchester MS.

"*Hi* [*i: e: acolyti*] *ab episcopo suo doceantur qualiter in officio suo agere debeant: dicens,*

"Nomen itaque hujus ordinis quem expositis, quod in se continet, noscere debetis. Acolyti græce, ceroferarii dicuntur latine, a cereis ferendis quando legendum est evangelium. Tunc enim accenduntur ab eis luminaria, et ante illud deportantur: non ad effugandas tenebras cum sol eo tempore rutilat: sed ad præsignandum quod lex et prophetæ, quæ per ipsa duo luminaria exprimuntur, lucem veram præcesserunt, quæ per evangelium mundo declaratur. Ait enim, 'Erat lux vera, quæ illuminat omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum.' Tunc vero spiritualiter acolyti luminaria ante evangelium deportant, cum legem et prophetas, quibus illud prænunciatum est, populo reserando prædicant. Ille etiam spiritualis est acolytus, qui igne divini verbi succensus, bonorum operum luce refulget, et cæteros verbo et exemplo exstruit et docet. Si enim acolyti oculis corporis carnalia luminaria præbent, ita oculos cordis bonorum operum exemplo accendere debent. Hoc Christus functus est officio, dum cæcis visum reddidit, et peccatorum caligine fuscatis, idem sol justitiæ effulsit.

"*Deinde accipiant ceroferarium cum cereo, ita dicente episcopo:*

"Accipite ceroferarium, *etc.*"

[29] It has been said that S. Ignatius included the acolytes, under the title "τοὺς κοπιῶντας," when he sent his salutations to the different orders and degrees in the church of Antioch. The chief argument for this appears to be, that, as in those days of persecution the Christians were obliged to meet before or after daylight, it was necessary that there should be acolytes, whose especial office it was, to light the lamps or candles at their place of meeting: and that as S. Ignatius does not name them by their proper title, the acolytes must be intended by the "labourers." See Catalani: *in pontif. Rom. tom.* 1. *p.* 90: and Baronius, *ad ann.* XXXIV. The argument is not very satisfactory, and Cotelerius, with more judgment, supposes these labourers to have been the persons employed to bury the dead. *Patres Apost. tom.* 2. p. 107.

[30] "Acolythus cum ordinatur,

Hic etiam poterit eos expressius informare de quatuor ordinibus præcedentibus, qui sub nomine acolytatus consummantur,[31] *licet quatuor sunt in numero, prout in principio libri continetur.*[32] *Et tunc ab episcopo accipiant ceroferarium cum cereo unum cum una manu, et aliud cum alia manu, dicente illis episcopo modo quo supra:*

Accipite ceroferarium cum cereo, ut sciatis vos ad accendenda ecclesiæ luminaria mancipari.

Accipiant et urceolum vacuum ab archidiacono,[33] *dicente illis episcopo modo quo supra:*

Accipite urceolum, ad suggerendum vinum et aquam in eucharistiam sanguinis Christi.[34]

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ab episcopo quidem doceatur qualiter in officio suo agere debeat. Sed ab archidiacono accipiat ceroferarium cum cereo, ut sciat se ad accendenda ecclesiæ luminaria mancipari. Accipiat et urceolum vacuum, ad suggerendum vinum in eucharistiam sanguinis Christi." Con. Carthag. Can. vj. *Mansi.* ut supra. From this canon it is clear that in the earliest ages both the "ceroferarius" and "urceolus" were delivered by the archdeacon: and so it is ordered in the sacramentary of S. Gregory, and other of the most ancient rituals. But changes took place as time went on; thus, in the church of Sarum, the archdeacon was appointed for the "urceolus" only: and by the last revision of the Roman Use, the bishop is directed to deliver both, and the archdeacon's office, in this respect, is removed altogether. Cf. note 33.

[31] *Martene* observes: "Acolythorum ordo aliis longe illustrior nobiliorque extitit, in ecclesia præsertim occidentali: utpote quorum ministerium circa incruentum missæ sacrificium pene totum versatur. Ipsorum est enim altaris accendere luminaria, vinum et aquam in Eucharistiam sanguinis Christi suggerere: *etc.*" De ant. ecc. rit. *tom.* 2. *p.* 19.

[32] This refers to the "Admonitiones," printed below.

[33] "*Et postea tradat eis urceolum vacuum dicens:*" Rubr. Pontif. Exon. And even more plainly from the bishop's hand, in the Winchester MS. "*Deinde accipiant urceolum vacuum ab episcopo dicente:*"

[34] The Exeter pontifical alone adds here, and also at the delivery of the "ceroferarius;" "In nomine Domini, Amen."

Sequitur præfatio acolytorum.

Deum Patrem omnipotentem, fratres carissimi, suppliciter deprecemur, ut hos famulos suos bene✠dicere dignetur in ordine acolytorum:[35] quatenus lumen visibile manibus præferentes, lumen quoque spirituale moribus præbeant, adjuvante Domino nostro Jesu Christo.

Oremus.

Diaconus. Flectamus genua. Levate.

Oratio.

Domine sancte,[36] Pater omnipotens, æterne Deus, qui per Jesum Christum Filium tuum, et apostolos ejus,[37] in hunc mundum lumen claritatis tuæ misisti, quique ut mortis nostræ antiquum aboleres chirographum, gloriosissimæ illum crucis vexillo affigi, ac sanguinem et aquam ex latere illius pro salute generis humani effluere voluisti: bene✠dicere dignare hos famulos tuos in officio acolytorum, ut ad accendendum lumen ecclesiæ tuæ, et ad suggerendum vinum et aquam ad conficiendum sanguinem Christi Filii tui in offerendo eucharistiam,[38] sanctis altaribus tuis fideliter subministrent: accende, Domine, mentes eorum et corda, ad amorem gratiæ tuæ, ut illuminati vultu splendoris tui, fideliter tibi in sancta ecclesia deserviant. Per eundem.

Oratio.

Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, æterne Deus, qui ad Moysen et Aaron locutus es, ut accenderentur lu-

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[35] "Quorum nomina hic recitantur, *N.*" *Pontif. Winton.* So also in the former corresponding prayers, in that MS.

[36] This prayer comes last of the three, in the Winchester MS.

[37] "Et apostolos ejus," omitted in Pontif. Winton.

[38] "In offerenda eucharistia." *Bangor.* et *Exon.*

cernæ in tabernaculo testimonii, bene ✠ dicere et sancti ✠ ficare dignare hos famulos tuos, ut sint acolyti in ecclesia tua.

Alia oratio, cum Oremus.

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, fons lucis et origo bonitatis, qui per Jesum Christum Filium tuum, lumen verum, mundum illuminasti, ejusque passionis mysterio redemisti, bene ✠ dicere et sancti ✠ ficare dignare hos famulos tuos, quos in officio acolytorum consecramus, poscentes clementiam tuam, ut eorum mentes et lumine scientiæ tuæ illustres, et pietatis tuæ rore irriges, ut ita perceptum ministerium te auxiliante peragant, quatenus ad æternam remunerationem pervenire mereantur. Per eundem Dominum nostrum.[39]

Lectio Isaiæ prophetæ.

Hæc dicit Dominus christo meo Cyro, cujus apprehendi dextram, ut subjiciam ante faciem ejus gentes, et dorsa regum vertam: et aperiam coram eo januas, et portæ ei non claudentur. Ego ante te ibo, et gloriosos terræ humiliabo. Portas æreas conteram, et vectes fer-

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[39] "*Item post quintam orationem missæ et lectionem* Angelus Domini, *et responsorium* Benedictus, *vocentur ex nomine sub diligenti custodia, ne aliqui se latenter ingerant: nisi qui ordinandi sunt subdiaconi.*" Rubr. Pontif. Winton.

"*Tunc lecta lectione quarta, et dicto responsorio, et oratione, legatur lectio quinta,* Angelus Domini. *Deinde oratio missæ, et pro ordinatis,* Exaudi, *sub uno* per Dominum. *Qua expleta dicat archidiaconus:* Recedant qui ordinati sunt acolyti: *et statim subjungat:* Accedant qui ordinandi sunt subdiaconi." Rubr. Pontif. Bangor.

"*Tunc sedeat episcopus, et legatur lectio quarta cum graduali, et sequatur oratio quinta cum lectione et tractu; quibus finitis, episcopus convertat se ad chorum, et dicat:* Pax vobis, *etc. Sequitur oratio: qua finita, dicat archidiaconus acolytis, quod quilibet eorum dicat tria psalteria pro statu ecclesiæ, regni, et episcopi; et subjungat:* Recedant, *etc.*" Rubr. Pontif. Exon.

reos confringam. Et dabo tibi thesauros absconditos et arcana secretorum, ut scias quia ego Dominus qui invoco nomen tuum, Deus Israel. Propter servum meum Jacob et Israel electum meum, et vocavi te nomine tuo: assimulavi te, et non cognovisti me. Ego Dominus, et non est alius extra me Deus. Accinxi te, et non cognovisti me: ut sciant hi qui ab ortu solis, et qui ab occidente, quoniam absque me non est Deus. Ego Dominus, et non est alter, formans lucem et creans tenebras: faciens pacem et creans malum. Ego Dominus: faciens omnia hæc. Rorate cœli desuper, et nubes pluant justum, aperiatur terra et germinet salvatorem; et justitia oriatur simul. Ego Dominus: creavi eum.

Gr. Excita Domine potentiam tuam et veni, ut salvos facies nos.

V. Qui regis Israel intende, qui deducis velut ovem Joseph, qui sedes super cherubin appare coram Ephraim et Benjamin et Manasseh.

Oratio.

Preces populi tui, quæsumus Domine, clementer exaudi, ut qui juste pro peccatis nostris affligimur, pietatis tuæ visitatione consolemur. Qui vivis et regnas cum Deo Patre, *etc.*

Lectio Danielis prophetæ.

Angelus Domini descendit cum Azaria et sociis suis in fornacem, et excussit flammam ignis de fornace, et fecit medium fornacis quasi ventum roris flantem. Flamma autem diffusa est super fornacem cubitis quadraginta novem: et incendit quos reperit juxta fornacem de Chaldæis ministros ejus qui eam incendebant. Illos autem omnino non tetigit ignis neque contristavit: nec quicquam molestiæ intulit. Tunc hi tres quasi

ex uno ore laudabant et glorificabant et benedicebant Deum: in fornace dicentes.

Gradale. Benedictus es, Domine Deus patrum nostrorum, et laudabilis, et gloriosus in sæcula.

Chorus idem repetat.

Vers. Et benedictum nomen gloriæ tuæ quod est sanctum.

Chorus. Et laudabile et gloriosum in sæcula.

Vers. Benedictus es in templo sancto gloriæ tuæ.

Chorus. Et laudabile.

Vers. Benedictus es super thronum sanctum regni tui.

Chorus. Et laudabile.

Vers. Benedictus es super sceptrum regni divinitatis tuæ.

Chorus. Et laudabile.

Vers. Benedictus es qui sedes super cherubin intuens abyssos.

Chorus. Et laudabile.

Vers. Benedictus es qui ambulas super pennas ventorum.

Chorus. Et laudabile.

Vers. Benedicant te omnes angeli et sancti tui.

Chorus. Et laudent te et glorificent in sæcula.

Vers. Benedicant te cœli, terræ, mare, et omnia quæ in eis sunt.

Chorus. Et laudent.

Vers. Gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto.

Chorus. Et laus et honor, potestas et imperium.

Vers. Sicut erat in principio, et nunc, et semper, et in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Chorus. Et laus.

Deinde repetatur resp.

Benedictus es.

Postea dicat episcopus: Pax vobis.

Oremus.

Oratio.

Deus, qui tribus pueris mitigasti flammas ignium: concede propitius, ut nos famulos tuos non exurat flamma vitiorum.

Oratio.

Exaudi, quæsumus Domine, supplicium preces, et devoto tibi pectore famulantes perpetua defensione custodi: ut nullis perturbationibus impediti, liberam servitutem tuis semper exhibeamus officiis. Per Dominum.

Et dicantur sub uno Per Dominum.

Hic dicantur memoriæ consuetæ.

Dicta oratione, vel memoriis finitis, episcopus convocans ad se acolytos, instruat eos de eorum officio, exhortando ad benefaciendum, et pro eo orandum aliquid certum si voluerit imponendum, et injungat eis horas beatæ Mariæ virginis quotidie dicendas ad terminum vitæ, et ipsi osculantur manum ejus, et benedicat eos in recessu.

Deinde dicat archidiaconus:

Recedant qui ordinati sunt acolyti:

Et statim subjungat:

Accedant qui ordinandi sunt subdiaconi.

Modo quo supra. Deinde episcopus sedens dicat eis sine nota:[40]

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[40] "*Hii antequam ordinentur, de officio sui ordinis diligenter instruantur ab episcopo, hoc modo:*

"Illi fratres qui hoc officio quod appetitis utuntur, subdiaconi vocantur. Officiis enim levitarum obediunt: eisque vasa corporis et sanguinis Christi ad altare offerunt.

"De quibus placuit sanctis patribus, ut quia ministeria sacra contractant, non solum ab omni immunditia, sed etiam a conjugio, quod cæteris usque ad hunc ordinem pro humana fragilitate per-

Subdiaconum oportet præparare necessaria ad ministrationem altaris, et diacono humiliter ministrare.[41]

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missum est, omnino se contineant. Ait enim scriptura, 'Mundamini, qui fertis vasa Domini.' Vasa ergo Domini ferentes, ab omni carnali voluntate debent esse immunes. Vasa vero Domini mundant, et diaconibus offerunt, qui mentes fidelium vitiis expurgant, et bonis moribus instruunt. Et sic ad majora capienda, moribus suis offerunt. Scyphum aquæ, et aquam, manile cum manutergio ab archidiacono accipiunt. De his vero levitis et sacerdotibus ministrare debent.

"Si enim sacerdotes et levitæ aliquoties humanius quam decet vixerint, tunc subdiaconi aquam conferunt, dum verba sacræ lectionis eisdem ut quod admissum est diluant, ad memoriam reducunt. Per aquam enim sacra scriptura aliquoties designatur. Hanc vero monitionem non arguendo, sed cum omni humilitate ut pii filii patrem monendo, facere debent. Ne cum Cham patris inebriati pudenda denudata deridente, æterna maledictione damnentur: sed cum piissimo filio opprobrium occultante benedictionem mereantur.

"Per manutergium, quod ex lino cum nimio labore conficitur, bonorum labor exprimitur: a quo omne peccatum confessione mundatum omnino deletur. Ait enim scriptura, 'Sicut aqua extinguit ignem, ita eleemosyna extinguit peccatum.' Hoc vero Dominus functus est officio, quando pedes apostolorum aqua lavit, et linteo extersit.

"*Deinde cum ordinantur, quia manus impositionem non accipiunt, patenam de manu episcopi accipient vacuam, et calicem vacuum, dicente episcopo:*

"Videte cujus. *etc.*" *Pontif. Winton.*

[41] This is more accordant to the practice of the earlier ages, than the long admonition to, and consequent supposed duties of, the subdeacons at present in the church of Rome. Thus Alcuin says: "Subdiaconus, subminister, eo quod sub diacono sit, id est sub ministro; illius ministerium est, ut ministret diacono, id est, deferat ei linteum, super quod consecrandum est corpus et sanguis Domini. Deferat ei paternam cum oblatis, et calicem in quo vinum, et aqua habeatur. Peracto sacrificio, mysteria corporis et sanguinis Domini, quæ superfuerint, a diacono colligenda vel deportanda suscipit." *De div. off.* Bibl. Patrum; *Auctarium. tom.* 1. *p.* 270. And Amalarius: "Subdiaconus ideo dicitur, quia sub diacono est: ad unum mysterium consecrantur; subdiaconus vasa altaris ad eum defert, ipse vero ad altare, ut in eo disponat, quæ disponenda sunt, atque inde

Accedentes igitur subdiaconi cum ordinantur, quia manus impositionem non accipiunt, patenam de manu episcopi vacuam accipiant, et calicem vacuum:[42] *de manu*

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recipiat, ut bonus dispensator de mensa Domini sui." *De ecc. off. lib.* 2. *cap.* xj. *ibid. p.* 382. From these and other authorities of about the same date, it has been reasonably concluded, that at that time the subdeacons did not approach the altar itself, but, although admitted within the sacrarium, handed the sacred vessels and other necessaries to the deacon or priest. Admittance even into the sacrarium, I would observe, was a privilege which grew up in later days than the council of Laodicea: which in its 21st canon strictly prohibited it to the subdeacons. Cf. also Goar. *Euchol. p.* 247. *note* 12. If we could interpret the admonition of the English Ordinals strictly, we might conclude that the duties of subdeacons still continued to be, as of old, up to the time of the reformation. I must here remind the reader that the degree of subdeacon is taken, in the modern church of Rome, only as a step to the higher orders of deacon and priest; in the same way as the minor orders are taken, with no intention of remaining in them.

Having mentioned the council of Laodicea, I may add, that its 22nd canon ordered the "minister" (by which word both Balsamon and Zonaras, under can. XXI. understand the subdeacon) "not to leave the doors." Whence we learn that anciently this was a portion of their duties: as Zonaras says: "antiquis temporibus ad fores ecclesiæ consistere, ibique catechumenis, et iis qui in pœnitentium ordine censebantur, cum opus foret, emittendis operam dare hypodiaconi soliti sunt." Bevereg. *Pandect. tom.* 1. *p.* 463.

[42] "Subdiaconus cum ordinatur, quia manus impositionem non accipit, patenam de episcopi manu accipiat vacuam, et calicem vacuum. De manu vero archidiaconi, urceolum cum aqua, et mantile, et manutergium." *Concil. Carth. can.* v. There is not here, nor in the text, any mention made of the book of the Epistles; which is now ordered to be delivered also, by the revised Roman ordinal. But for several centuries in the church of England it had become customary for the subdeacon to read the epistle, instead of the "Lector." Upon this point I must refer the reader to my work on the "Ancient Liturgy," *p.* 41. *Note* 50 (2nd edit.) where he will find some remarks upon the subject. I will add here, that one of the earliest canons which bear upon it, is the IVth of the council

vero archidiaconi[43] *accipiunt urceolum plenum cum aquamanili, id est, manutergio, dicente illis episcopo sine nota, stando:*

Videte cujus ministerium vobis traditur.

In fine concludat legendo, sic:

Ideo si usque nunc fuistis tardi ad ecclesiam; amodo debetis esse assidui. Si usque nunc somnolenti; amodo vigiles. Si usque nunc ebriosi; amodo sobrii. Si nunc usque inhonesti; amodo casti. Ideo vos moneo, ut vos ita exhibeatis ut Deo placere possitis.

Præfatio subdiaconorum cum nota, stando.

Oremus Deum ac Dominum nostrum, fratres carissimi, ut super servos suos quos ad subdiaconatus officium vocare dignatus est, effundat bene✠dictionem suam et gratiam, ut in conspectu ejus fideliter servientes, prædestinata sanctis præmia consequantur, adjuvante Domino nostro Jesu Christo.

Oremus.

Diaconus. Flectamus genua. Levate.

Benedictio subdiaconorum.

Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, æterne Deus, be-

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of Rhemes, in the year 813. "*De officio subdiaconi.* ——— residentibus cunctis lectæ sunt epistolæ Pauli, qualiter subdiaconi ministerium est eumdem apostolum legere, ut officium sibi commissum implere rectius potuisset." *Concil.* Mansi. *tom.* xiv. *col.* 77.

[43] There is considerable variety here between the pontificals. The Winchester directs: "*Postea vero accipiant ab archidiacono urceolum cum aquamanili ac manutergio.*" With this the Bangor agrees, with the addition "*urceolum vacuum.*" And in the address just above, Note 40, we have the candidates reminded that they were to receive "manile cum manutergio ab archidiacono." The Exeter pontifical gives another direction; viz. "*Tunc surgens episcopus, tradat cuilibet calicem vacuum cum patena ad tangendum, quem sequatur archidiaconus cum urceolo et manutergio et aqua, dicente episcopo circumeundo.*"

ne✠dicere dignare hos famulos tuos, quos ad subdiaconatus officium vocare[44] dignatus es, ut eos in sacrario sancto tuo strenuos solicitosque cœlestis militiæ instituas excubitores, sanctisque altaribus tuis fideliter subministrent, et requiescat super eos spiritus sapientiæ et intellectus, spiritus consilii et fortitudinis, spiritus scientiæ et pietatis; et repleas eos spiritu timoris tui, et eos in ministerio divino confirmes,[45] ut obedientes facto atque dicto parentes, tuam gratiam consequantur. Per Dominum, in unitate ejusdem.

Tunc tradat[46] eis singulis in sinistro brachio episcopus manipulos,[47] dicens sine nota, et eos circueundo:

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[44] "Eligere." *Winton* et *Exon.*

[45] "Conformes." *Winton* et *Exon.*

[46] The Winchester pontifical, taking no notice of the maniple or tunic, here concludes the office of ordaining subdeacons: with this rubric. "*Tunc exeant subdiaconi. Et postquam episcopus finierit hanc collectam,* Deus qui tribus, *post epistolam et kyrie,* Laudate, *introducantur qui ordinandi sunt diaconi.*"

The reader must not forget that this Winchester MS. is earlier, by nearly two hundred years, than the Bangor pontifical: being of the early part of the twelfth, if not of the latter part of the eleventh century. See *Vol.* 1. *p.* 1. *Note* 2.

[47] It has been stated in the preceding note, that the Winchester pontifical does not direct either the maniple or the tunic to be delivered. And in fact both of them were of late introduction into the Church, as part of the vestments of subdeacons. We might have argued that not only the tunic but the maniple was added in the English Church (from the fact of neither being spoken of in the Winchester, and both in the Bangor MS.) about the twelfth century. But it is a curious fact, that the very ancient pontifical of Archbishop Egbert of York, from which *Martene* has printed extracts, has this rubric, in the ordination of a subdeacon. "*Et tradat ei calicem, et patenam, et manipulum.*" De ecc. ant. rit. *tom.* 2. *p.* 34. Whether it was afterwards omitted, between the eighth and the eleventh centuries, we cannot say.

But in fact, the maniple in that early age had not degenerated from its real and proper purpose,

Accipe manipulum, imple ministerium tuum; potens est enim Dominus, ut augeat tibi gratiam: qui vivit et regnat.[48]

In fine dicat episcopus singulis:

Pax tecum. *Et ille ordinandus respondeat:*

Et cum spiritu tuo.

Ad induendam tunicam dicat episcopus:

Induat te Dominus vestimento salutis, et indumento justitiæ circumdet te semper.[49]

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into a mere ornament: and some ancient pontificals, when the delivery of it first solemnly formed a part of the ordering of subdeacons, expressly referred to its continued and actual use. "Accipe manipulum," was the form of words, "in manibus tuis ad extergendas sordes cordis et corporis, in nomine Patris, *etc.*" *Ibid. p.* 20. In which form, we find the same mixture of symbolical meaning as in these passages. "Mappula quæ in sinistra parte gestatur, qua pituitam oculorum, et narium detergimus, præsentem vitam designat, in qua superfluos humores patimur." *Alcuin.* de Div. Off. "Sudarium ad hoc portamus, ut eo detergamus sudorem. In manu sinistra portatur, ut ostendatur, in temporali vita tædium nos pati superflui humoris." *Amalarius. Lib.* 2. *Cap.* xxiv.

With regard to the tunic, it seems to be agreed on, that it was introduced after the xith century: and was first used in the case of those who, being already monks, were to be ordained subdeacons.

48 "*Et ille osculari debet manum episcopi. Tunc episcopus det illi qui lecturus est epistolam, tunicam, dicens:* Induat, *etc.*" Pontif. Exon.

The Bangor MS. is the same, as in the text.

49 "*Qua indutus statim legat epistolam, et sequatur kyrie. Deinde vocentur qui ordinandi sunt diaconi.*" Pontif. Bangor. From this rubric it may be concluded that the tunic was delivered only to the subdeacon about to read the Epistle.

"*Tunc lecta epistola cum tractu, injungat psalteria sicut prius, et postea dicat:* Recedant qui ordinati sunt subdiaconi: et accedant qui ordinandi sunt diaconi.

"*Hic aliqui prælati faciunt simul vocari eos qui ordinandi sunt diaconi et sacerdotes: quibus singillatim vocatis, et introductis, episcopus cum ministris prosternat se ante altare dum*

Qua finita statim legatur, Epistola ad Thessalonicenses.

Fratres: rogamus vos per adventum Domini nostri Jesu Christi et nostræ congregationis in idipsum: ut non cito moveamini a vestro sensu, neque terreamini, neque per spiritum, neque per sermonem, neque per epistolam tanquam per nos missam, quasi instet dies Domini. Nequis vos seducat ullo modo. Quoniam nisi venerit primum dissentio, et revelatus fuerit homo peccati, filius perditionis, qui adversatur et extollitur super omne quod dicitur deus, aut quod colitur, ita ut in templo Dei sedeat ostendens se tanquam sit deus. Non retinetis quod adhuc cum essem apud vos, hæc dicebam vobis. Et nunc quid detineat scitis: ut reveletur in suo tempore. Nam mysterium jam operatur iniquitatis, tantum ut qui tenet nunc, teneat, donec de medio fiat. Et tunc revelabitur ille iniquus, quem Dominus Jesus interficiet spiritu oris sui, et destruet illustratione adventus sui.

Sequatur tractus.

Qui regis Israel intende, qui deducis velut ovem Joseph.

Vers. Qui sedes super cherubin, appare coram Ephraim, Benjamin, et Manasseh.

Vers. Excita Domine potentiam tuam, et veni, ut salvos facias nos.

Cantatoque tractu, episcopus injungat eis horas canonicas quotidie dicendas ad totum terminum vitæ. Et

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litania a choro cantatur: aliqui vero dicunt litaniam solum in ordinatione presbyterorum." Pontif. Exon. Compare the rubric of the text, below: and the rubric in the note there, from the Bangor MS. The student should refer also to the Roman pontifical, in the order for subdeacons.

archidiaconus injungat eis aliquid certum pro statu universalis ecclesiæ, et tranquillitate regis et regni, et prosperitate domini episcopi. Et pro animabus patrum et matrum, et pro animabus omnium fidelium defunctorum. Et etiam dominus concedat indulgentias viginti dierum omnibus eorum primas epistolas audientibus.

Postea statim dicat:

Recedant qui ordinati sunt subdiaconi; accedant qui ordinandi sunt diaconi, et sacerdotes.

Deinde[50] *accedentes qui ordinandi sunt diaconi et sacerdotes cum vestibus suis, et prostrato episcopo ante altare cum sacerdotibus et levitis ordinandis, postea duo clerici incipiant litaniam.*

Kyrie eleison.
Christe eleison.
Christe audi nos.
Pater de cœlis Deus: miserere nobis.
Fili, redemptor mundi, Deus: miserere nobis.
Spiritus Sancte, Deus: miserere nobis.
Sancta Trinitas, unus Deus: miserere nobis.
Sancta Maria: ora pro nobis.
Sancta Dei genitrix: ora.
Sancta virgo virginum: ora.
Sancte Michael: ora.
Sancte Gabriel: ora.
Sancte Raphael: ora.
Omnes sancti angeli, et archangeli, orate.

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[50] "*Deinde accedentes qui ordinandi sunt diaconi et sacerdotes, cum vestibus suis et titulis, et stantibus cunctis, prostrato episcopo ante altare cum sacerdotibus et levitis ordinandis, incipiat cantor litaniam.*" Rubr. Pontif. Bangor.

The Winchester MS. agrees with the Exeter (see above, Note 46) in calling up the deacons and priests separately.

Omnes sancti beatorum spirituum ordines:
orate.
Sancte Johannes Baptista: ora.
Omnes sancti patriarchæ et prophetæ: orate.
Sancte Petre: ora.
Sancte Paule: ora.
Sancte Andrea: ora.
Sancte Johannes: ora.
Sancte Jacobe: ora.
Sancte Thoma: ora.
Sancte Philippe: ora.
Sancte Jacobe: ora.
Sancte Mathæe: ora.
Sancte Bartholomee: ora.
Sancte Simon: ora.
Sancte Thaddee: ora.
Sancte Mathia: ora.
Sancte Barnaba: ora.
Sancte Marce: ora.
Sancte Luca: ora.
Omnes sancti apostoli, et evangelistæ: orate.
Omnes sancti discipuli Domini, et innocentes: orate.
Sancte Stephane: ora.
Sancte Line: ora.
Sancte Clete: ora.
Sancte Clemens: ora.
Sancte Fabiane: ora.
Sancte Sebastiane: ora.
Sancte Cosma: ora.
Sancte Damiane: ora.
Sancte Prime, sancte Feliciane: orate.
Sancte Dionysi, cum sociis tuis: orate.
Sancte Victor, cum sociis tuis: orate.

Omnes sancti Martyres : orate.
Sancte Silvester : ora.
Sancte Leo : ora.
Sancte Jeronyme : ora.
Sancte Augustine : ora.
Sancte Isidore : ora.
Sancte Juliane : ora.
Sancte Gildarde : ora.
Sancte Medarde : ora.
Sancte Albine : ora.
Sancte Eusebi : ora.
Sancte Swithune : ora.
Sancte Birine : ora.
Omnes sancti confessores : orate.
Omnes sancti monachi, et eremitæ : orate.
Sancta Maria Magdalena : ora.
Sancta Maria Ægyptiaca : ora.
Sancta Margareta : ora.
Sancta Scholastica : ora.
Sancta Petronella : ora.
Sancta Genoveva : ora.
Sancta Praxedis : ora.
Sancta Sotheris : ora.
Sancta Prisca : ora.
Sancta Tecla : ora.
Sancta Affra : ora.
Sancta Editha : ora.
Omnes sanctæ virgines : orate.
Omnes sancti : orate.
Propitius esto : parce nobis, Domine.
Ab omni malo : libera nos, Domine.
Ab insidiis diaboli : libera.
A damnatione perpetua : libera.

Ab imminentibus peccatorum nostrorum periculis : libera.
Ab infestationibus dæmonum : libera.
A spiritu fornicationis : libera.
Ab appetitu inanis gloriæ : libera.
Ab omni immunditia mentis et corporis : libera.
Ab ira, et odio, et omni mala voluntate : libera.
Ab immundis cogitationibus : libera.
A cæcitate cordis : libera.
A fulgure et tempestate : libera.
A subitanea et improvisa morte : libera.
Per mysterium sanctæ incarnationis tuæ : libera.
Per nativitatem tuam : libera.
Per sanctam circumcisionem tuam : libera.
Per baptismum tuum : libera.
Per jejunium tuum : libera.
Per crucem et passionem tuam : libera.
Per pretiosam mortem tuam : libera.
Per gloriosam resurrectionem tuam : libera.
Per admirabilem ascensionem tuam : libera.
Per gratiam Sancti Paracliti : libera.
In hora mortis : succurre nobis, Domine.
In die judicii : libera.
Peccatores, te rogamus audi nos.
Ut pacem nobis dones.
Te rogamus.
Ut misericordia et pietas tua nos custodiat.
Te rogamus.
Ut ecclesiam tuam catholicam regere et defensare digneris.
Te rogamus.
Ut apostolicum donum, et omnes gradus ecclesiæ, in sancta religione conservare digneris.
Te rogamus.

Hic surgat episcopus et sumat baculum in manu sua, et conversus ad ordinandos dicat:[51]

Ut electos istos bene ✠ dicere digneris.

Te rogamus.

Ut electos istos bene ✠ dicere, et sancti ✠ ficare digneris.

Te rogamus.

Ut electos istos bene ✠ dicere, sancti ✠ ficare, et conse ✠ crare digneris.

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[51] Upon the use in this place, so many times, of the sign of the cross, I extract a passage from Catalani. "Huc certe spectare videtur, quod ait sanctus Augustinus sermone clxxxj. de tempore, et tractatu cxviij. in Joannem, ita inquiens: 'Signo crucis consecratur corpus Dominicum, et omnia quæcumque sanctificantur, cum invocatione Christi nominis, in hoc signo consecrantur.' Ideo in ordinibus præsertim sacris conferendis crucis semper signaculum affulget: 'Unicuique eorum,' inquit S. Dionysius de ecclesiastica Hierarchia, 'qui consecrantur, signum crucis a consecrante pontifice imprimitur.' Ibidem vero subdit, crucis consignationem communem esse ordinationi episcoporum, sacerdotum, et diaconorum. Id quod etiam testatur memoratus Augustinus sermone XIX. de sanctis, ubi ita ait: 'Sacerdotes et Levitæ per signum crucis ad sacros ordines promoventur.' Tandem, S. Joannes Chrysostomus homilia lv. in Matt. absolute inquit, in quacumque ordinatione signum hoc salutis adhiberi: 'Crux adest, cum ordinandi statuimur.'" *In pontif. Rom. tom.* 1. *p.* 100.

The question however fairly is, not whether the just and proper use of this holy Sign, upon solemn occasions, is to be objected against,—testified to (as it undoubtedly is) by the practice of very early ages, and authorized in the administration of the sacrament of Baptism by the church of England,—but whether it had not come to such an excess, and to be regarded also with superstition, that the wisest if not the only course left to the revisers of our formularies, was to remove it, except upon the occasion of that sacrament alone, entirely from our Offices. I would refer the reader to some further remarks upon this subject, in my work on the Ancient Liturgy: 2nd edit. *p.* 4. 5. and *p.* 98.

Upon its use and acceptation in the Greek Church, see Goar, *Euchol.p.* 297. and *p.* 255. *Note* 7.

Te rogamus.

Hoc peracto, genuflectat episcopus cum cæteris ministris, usque ad finem litaniæ. Clerici prosequantur litaniam sic:

Ut episcopos, et abbates nostros, in sancta religione conservare digneris.

Te rogamus.

Ut regi nostro, et principibus nostris, pacem et veram concordiam atque victoriam donare digneris.

Te rogamus.

Ut congregationes omnium sanctorum tuorum in tuo sancto servitio conservare digneris.

Te rogamus.

Ut cunctum populum Christianum, pretioso sanguine tuo redemptum, conservare digneris.

Te rogamus.

Ut omnibus benefactoribus nostris sempiterna bona retribuas.

Te rogamus.

Ut animas nostras, et parentum nostrorum, ab æterna damnatione eripias.

Te rogamus.

Ut fructus terræ dare atque conservare digneris.

Te rogamus.

Ut oculos misericordiæ tuæ super nos reducere digneris.

Te rogamus.

Ut obsequium servitutis nostræ rationabile facias.

Te rogamus.

Ut mentes nostras ad cœlestia desideria erigas.

Te rogamus.

Ut miserias pauperum et captivorum intueri et relevare digneris.

Te rogamus.

Ut omnibus fidelibus defunctis requiem æternam dones.

Te rogamus.

Ut nos exaudire digneris.

Te rogamus.

Fili Dei, te rogamus audi nos.

Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, exaudi nos, Domine.

Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, parce nobis, Domine.

Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis.

Kyrie eleison.

Christe eleison.

Kyrie eleison.

Finita litania, redeant sacerdotes electi ad loca sua, remanentibus levitis ad consecrandum, et episcopus dicat eis sine nota, sedendo:

Diaconum oportet[52] ministrare ad altare,[53] evangelium legere, baptizare, et prædicare.[54]

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[52] The admonition to the deacons in the Winchester pontifical, immediately follows their approach to the Bishop, nor does there seem in that age, according to the Use of that Church, to have been a Litany appointed. The admonition is this;

" *Quos instruens, episcopus dicat:*

" Diaconatus vero officium in veteri testamento sumpsit exordium: in novo accepit incrementum. In veteri enim testamento levitæ vocabantur, et ab eis tabernaculum et ejus vasa custodiebantur. In novo vero ab apostolis ordinati, divini verbi præcones, et mensarum dispensatores constituuntur. Per ipsos enim debent stipendia ecclesiæ viduis et pauperibus erogari. Hii vero candidis vestibus induti altario assistunt, quibus castitatem cæteramque mentis puritatem se habere debere ostendunt. Paulus enim scribens ad Timotheum, cum præmisisset de sacerdotum electione, continuo subjunxit: ' Diacones [*sic*] similiter sint irreprehensibiles, id est, sine macula, et pudici, sicut episcopus. Non bilingues, non multo

Quibus inclinantibus, solus episcopus qui eos benedicit, manum super capita singulorum ponat, dicens, solus secrete:

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vino dediti, non terrena lucra sectantes.' Ipsi vero manus impositionem ab episcopo accipiunt. Per manus opera intelligimus. Per digitos, dona Spiritus Sancti. In membris enim humanis non est major discretio, quam in digitis. Ac per hoc dona Spiritus Sancti discreta monstrantur. Et per impositionem manuum opera Spiritus Sancti intelligimus, quæ in grege Dominico debet exercere diaconus. Christus vero quamdiu nobis prædicavit, functus est officio diaconi. Habet diaconus donum prophetiæ, et merito; quia ejus fungitur officio de quo dictum est, 'Prophetam vobis suscitabit Deus de fratribus vestris tanquam me: ipsum audite.' Et iterum in evangelio, 'Propheta magnus surrexit in nobis.' Sunt etiam diaconi, ut ab apostolis institutum est, mensarum et viduarum ministri. Hoc officio Dominus ministrabat; cum aperta voce clamabat, 'Pœnitentiam agite; appropinquavit enim regnum cœlorum.'

"*Hi cum ordinantur, solus episcopus qui eos benedicit, manum super capita eorum ponat: quia non ad sacerdotium, sed ad ministerium consecrantur: dicens:*

"Oremus, dilectissimi. *etc.*"

Hence it appears that at that time, the Winchester Use did not enjoin also (as afterwards the Exeter, Salisbury, and Bangor pontificals), the "Accipe Spiritum Sanctum." See the note below.

[53] Upon the question whether deacons anciently were permitted to administer the Cup, in the Holy Eucharist, I must refer the reader to my observations, in the "Ancient Liturgy," 2nd edit. *p.* 127.

[54] The admonition does not notice in any way, a privilege which in the middle ages the church of England, in extreme cases, allowed to her deacons: namely, that of reconciling penitents. And it is remarkable, that the same restriction is laid upon the exercise of both this power of reconciling, and of baptizing. Thus the 5th canon of the council of York, in 1195: "Decrevimus etiam, ut non nisi summa, et gravi urgente necessitate diaconus baptizet, vel corpus Christi cuiquam eroget, vel pœnitentiam confitenti imponat." Wilkins, *Concilia, tom.* 1. *p.* 501. And five years afterwards, in the province of Canterbury, the 3rd canon of the council of London: "Ut non liceat diaconibus baptizare, vel pœnitentias dare, nisi duplici necessitate; viz. quia sacerdos non potest, vel absens, vel stulte non vult, et mors imminet

Accipe Spiritum Sanctum.[55] *Quia non ad sacerdotium sed ad ministerium consecrantur.*[56]

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puero, vel ægro." *Ibid. p.* 505. The same was repeated in the year 1236, in a provincial constitution: *ibid. p.* 636.

Lyndwood has a gloss upon this: both with respect to baptizing and hearing confessions. As regards the latter, his explanation is more mysterious than the permission which we are considering. "*De baptismate et pœnitentia.* Quæ duo quoad ministrationem eorundem parificantur, ut scilicet non ministrentur nisi a sacerdote; qui dictorum sacramentorum est debitus minister, excepta causa necessitatis. De primo, scilicet quoad baptismum, sic scribunt communiter omnes theologi, qui dicunt, quod alius non sacerdos baptizans præter articulum necessitatis peccat. De secundo, scilicet pœnitentia, quod sit proprium officium sacerdotis et non alterius, qui non est sacerdos, patet ex hoc; quod solum sacerdotibus Dominus dedit potestatem ligandi et solvendi." *Lib.* 3. *tit.* 24. Baptisterium habeatur. *verb.* pœnitentia.

The *Liber pœnitentialis* of archbishop Theodore, in the 7th century, has a notice upon the subject, but expressed in such general terms, that it leaves the question where it was before: "Non licet diaconum laico pœnitentiam judicare, sed episcopi et presbyteri judicare debent." Thorpe, *Anglo-saxon Laws. Vol.* 2. *p.* 57. But a passage in the 12th epistle of S. Cyprian is much to the point, and possibly it was in reliance upon his authority that the English Church published the above canons. "Quoniam tamen video facultatem veniendi ad vos nondum esse, occurrendum puto fratribus nostris; ut qui libellos a martyribus acceperunt, et prærogativa eorum apud Deum adjuvari possunt, si incommodo aliquo et infirmitatis periculo occupati fuerint, non expectata præsentia nostra, apud presbyterum quemcumque præsentem, vel si presbyter repertus non fuerit, et urgere exitus cœperit, apud diaconum quoque exomologesin facere delicti sui possint; ut manu eis in pœnitentiam imposita veniant ad Dominum cum pace quam dari martyres litteris ad nos factis desideraverunt." *Opera. p.* 22.

An interpretation may be put upon these canons, as regards confession, that that office, when performed by deacons, came under the class of what was then called Sacramentals; and so possibly the English councils might have looked on it. See Natalis Alexander: *Theol. Dogm. Lib.* 2. *Art.* viij. This certainly somewhat reconciles the difficulty under which these canons lie; whether the councils were correct in limit-

Sequitur præfatio super inclinatos diaconos, stando, cum nota.

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ing the power of deacons to baptize, to cases only where great necessity existed, is another point, upon which I have not space to enter. I shall only add, that the later Roman canonists do not allow that the "exomologesis" of S. Cyprian, is to be understood of what they call "sacramental confession:" but a lower kind, which might, in the absence of both priest and bishop, authorize a deacon simply to restore the penitent to the right of communion.

[55] This form is as follows in the modern Roman Use. "Accipe Spiritum Sanctum, ad robur, et ad resistendum diabolo, et tentationibus ejus. In nomine Domini." And it is interpolated in the long prayer, which is called in the text, "Præfatio," beginning "Honorum dator."

The schoolmen have called these words "Accipe *etc.*" the Form: but there is this difficulty, that (as we have already seen in the case of the Winchester MS.) it is of late introduction; Martene says of about the 13th century: and probably the Bangor pontifical is as early as any manuscript in which it can be found. Hence others, as Catalani, and Martene, say that "the Form" is contained in the prayer which begins "Emitte quæsumus Domine, *etc.*:" which clause was anciently, as the reader will observe, in the middle, and not at the beginning of a prayer. It was to obviate all these objections, and make the public rituals harmonize with the opinions of the Roman doctors, that at the revision of the pontifical, the old prayer was divided, and the new clause aptly fitted in, to supply what was wanted. Unfortunately, whilst the modern pontifical is sufficiently complete, the testimony of the earlier books remains as firm as ever, against the truth of the new doctrines which, after their time, had been introduced.

[56] We return again to the important canons of the 4th council of Carthage, to which so many of the ancient rubrics of the English ordinals are to be traced. "IV. Diaconus cum ordinatur, solus episcopus, qui eum benedicit, manum super caput illius ponat: quia non ad sacerdotium, sed ad ministerium consecratur." *Mansi, ut supra.* The same words are introduced into the sacramentary of S. Gregory, and the old Ordo Romanus. Still the rule was not exactly observed in all Churches, for in some pontificals (and among them the very early English MS. preserved at Rouen) we have the following rubric, which probably is to be traced to an age earlier even than the Carthaginian council, as it is to be found in the Ge-

Oremus, dilectissimi, Deum Patrem omnipotentem, ut super hos famulos suos,[57] quos ad officium diaconatus assumere dignatus est, bene✠dictionis suæ gratiam clementer effundat, et consecrationis indultæ propitius dona conservet, et preces nostras clementer exaudiat: ut quæ nostro gerenda sunt ministerio, suo benignus prosequatur auxilio, et quos sacris mysteriis exequendis pro nostra intelligentia credimus offerendos, sua electione sanctificet.

Oremus.

Diaconus. Flectamus genua. Levate.

Oratio.

Exaudi, Domine, preces nostras, et super hos famu-

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lasian Sacramentary. "Diaconus cum ordinatur, solus episcopus, qui eum benedicit, manum super caput illius ponat, reliqui omnes sacerdotes juxta manum episcopi, caput illius tangant, quia non ad sacerdotium, sed ad ministerium consecratur." And there is a remarkable place in Durand, where, after citing the first rubric, he objects: "In actibus tamen Apostolorum ita legitur: 'Hos statuerunt ante conspectum Apostolorum, et orantes imposuerunt manus super eos.' In quo ostenditur, non solum episcopum verum etiam presbyteros tunc adstantes debere manum super diaconum, dum ordinatur, imponere." *Ration. Lib.* 2. IX. 14. And he goes on to argue that a bishop could not have more power than an Apostle. *Amalarius* also, some centuries before, makes the same objection, upon the same ground. But as *Menard* argues in his notes on this place of the Sacramentary of S. Gregory, it was not strange, that being together, the Apostles should all have laid their hands upon the deacons: "quamvis id minime esset necessarium, cum unicus sufficere potuisset." *Tom.* 3. *p.* 498. I suppose that this point must therefore be left entirely to the discretion of each church, according to her own judgment.

[57] "quorum nomina hic recitantur, quos in sacrum ordinem dignatur assumere, benedictionis suæ gratiam clementer infundat, eisque donum consecrationis indulgeat, per quod eos ad gaudia æterna perducat. Qui vivit, *etc.*" *Pontif. Winton:* and followed by the Exeter MS. except that the latter reads "quos ad officium diaconatus."

los tuos spiritum tuæ bene✠dictionis emitte: ut cœlesti munere ditati, et tuæ gratiam possint majestatis acquirere, et bene vivendi aliis exemplum præbere: *terminando secrete:* Per Dominum nostrum, Jesum Christum, Filium tuum, qui tecum.

Per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Dominus vobiscum.

Et cum spiritu tuo.

Sursum corda.

Habemus ad Dominum.

Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro.

Dignum et justum est.

Vere dignum et justum est, æquum et salutare, nos tibi semper et ubique gratias agere, Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, æterne Deus. Honorum[58] dator, ordinumque distributor, ac officiorum dispositor, qui, in te manens, innovas omnia et cuncta disponis, per Verbum, virtutem, sapientiamque tuam, Jesum Christum, Filium tuum, Dominum nostrum, sempiterna providentia præparans, et singulis quibusque tempori-

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[58] Some MSS. in this place read "bonorum," which is followed by the Exeter pontifical: but wrongly. For as *Menard* has observed in his notes to the sacramentary of S. Gregory, "hæc vox *honor* dicitur de tribus excellentioribus ordinibus, diaconatu, presbyteratu, et episcopatu." S. Greg. Opera. *Tom.* 3. *p.* 499. And he cites several passages to this purpose from Ennodius, Optatus Milevitanus, and others. With these from S. Cyprian. "Cæterum presbyterii honorem designasse nos illis, ut sciatis." *Epist.* 34. "Fungeris circa eum potestate honoris tui, ut eum vel deponas, vel abstineas." *Epist.* 65.

So also we have the canons of councils: thus the 2nd of the 4th council of Arles: "Sed nec reliqui pontifices presbyterii, vel diaconatus honorem conferre præsumant, *etc.*" And the 8th canon of the council of Nice, before quoted (*p.* 145. *Note* 6); "ὁ δε ονομαζομενος παρα τοις λεγομενοις Καθαροις ἐπισκοπος, την του πρεσβυτερου τιμην ἑξει."

bus aptanda dispensas. Cujus corpus, ecclesiam videlicet tuam cœlestium gratiarum varietate distinctam, suorumque connexam distinctione membrorum per legem mirabilem compaginis totius unitam, in augmentum templi tui crescere dilatarique largiris, sacri muneris servitutem in trinis gradibus ministrorum nomini tuo militare constituens. Electis ab initio Levi filiis, qui in mysticis operationibus domus tuæ fidelibus excubiis permanentes, hæreditatem benedictionis æternæ sorte perpetua possiderent. Super hos quoque famulos tuos, quæsumus Domine, placatus intende, quos tuis sacrariis servituros in officium diaconii suppliciter dedi ✠ camus. Et nos quidem tanquam homines, divini sensus et summæ rationis ignari, horum vitam quantum possumus estimamus. Te autem, Domine, ea quæ nobis sunt ignota non transeunt, et occulta non fallunt. Tu cognitor es secretorum, tu scrutator es cordium, tu eorum vitam cœlesti poteris examinare judicio, qui semper prævales et commissa purgare et ea quæ sunt agenda concedere. Emitte in eos, quæsumus Domine, Spiritum Sanctum, quo in opus ministerii fideliter exequendi, septiformis gratiæ tuæ munere roborentur: abundet in eis totius forma virtutis, auctoritas modesta, pudor constans, innocentiæ puritas, et spiritualis observantia disciplinæ. In moribus eorum præcepta tua fulgeant, ut suæ castitatis exemplo imitationem sancta plebs acquirat, et bonum conscientiæ testimonium præferentes, in Christo firmi et stabiles perseverent, dignisque successibus de inferiori gradu per gratiam tuam capere potiora mereantur.

Terminando secrete: Per eundem Dominum nostrum, Jesum Christum, Filium tuum, qui tecum vivit et regnat in unitate ejusdem.

Tunc ponat singulis, super sinistrum humerum, sto-

lam usque ad ascellam[59] *dexteram subtus, dicens sine nota:*[60]

In nomine Sanctæ Trinitatis, accipe stolam immortalitatis: imple ministerium tuum, potens est enim Deus ut augeat tibi gratiam, qui vivit et regnat.[61]

Non dicitur ulterius, sed statim subjungat:

Pax tecum.

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[59] i: e: axillam.

[60] " *Tunc ponat singulis, super humerum sinistrum stolas, dicens:*" Rubr. pontif. Bangor.

" *Finita præfatione, tunc episcopus tradat cuilibet diaconorum stolam, dicens:*" Rubr. pontif. Exon.

[61] The Winchester pontifical has a considerable addition after the words "qui vivit et regnat."

" Per hoc signum, vobis diaconatus officium imponimus, ut firmamentum mensæ divinæ tanquam sustentaculum columnarum sitis, et præcones regis cœlestis irreprehensibiliter existere mereamini.

" *Addat etiam hanc episcopus orationem:*

" In nomine sanctæ Trinitatis et Unicæ Divinitatis, accipite stolam quam vobis Dominus per humilitatis nostræ famulatum et per manus nostras accipiendam præparavit; per quam sciatis sarcinam Domini Dei vestri cervicibus vestris impositam, et humilitatem, atque in administrationem vos esse connexos, et per quam vos cognoscant fratres vestri ministros Dei esse ordinatos: ut qui in diaconatus ministerio estis constituti, leviticæ benedictionis ordine clarescatis, et spirituali conversatione præfulgentes, gratia sanctificationis eluceatis, sed et in Christo Jesu stabiles perseveretis, ac firmi; quatenus hoc quod per hanc stolam significatur, in die districti judicii ante tribunal Domini sine macula repræsentare valeatis: ipso auxiliante, cui est honor et gloria in sæcula sæculorum.*

" *Postea tradat episcopus sanctum evangelium, dicens:*

" Accipe potestatem legendi

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* This prayer seems to have been peculiar to the early English Church, and probably was retained from the primitive British sacramentary. It occurs in two very ancient English pontificals; one of the 8th century, formerly preserved at Jumieges, and the other, once S. Dunstan's, now in the royal library at Paris. Cf. *Martene*. de ant. ecc. rit. *Tom.* 2. *p.* 39.

Et ordinandus respondeat:

Et cum spiritu tuo.[62]

Post hæc tradat eis librum evangeliorum,[63] *dicens sine nota:*

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evangelium in ecclesia Dei, tam pro vivis quam et defunctis, in nomine Domini. Amen.

"Commune votum communis prosequatur oratio, ut hii totius ecclesiæ prece, qui in diaconatus ministerium præparantur, levitica benedictione et spirituali conversatione præfulgentes, gratia sanctificationis eluceant. Per eum qui vivit.

"*Oremus.* Domine sancte, Pater spei, *etc.*"

An exhortation similar to the last, ("Commune votum,") is still used in the Roman pontifical: but placed at the beginning, immediately after the admonition to the deacons. I take the opportunity of noting this, and of reminding the student of the numberless variations which existed between the old English uses and the Roman. This last he must carefully examine for himself.

[62] Neither the "Pax tecum" nor its response, is ordered in the Bangor or Exeter MSS.

[63] The modern Roman pontifical delivers the dalmatic before the book of the Gospels. This rite of delivering the Gospels, was for many ages peculiar to the English Church: nor is it mentioned by any of the early ritualists, S. Isidore, Amalarius, or Alcuin. Martene says that it is not to be found in any pontifical before the 10th century, those of English use alone excepted: and he continues, "Cum ergo solemnis fuerit in Anglia evangelii traditio, reperiaturque in omnibus, quos inde viderimus libris ritualibus, ab ea ecclesia hunc ritum initium traxisse facile colligitur."

Catalani (*Comment. in pontif. Tom.* 1. *p.* 119.) rather hastily accuses Martene of an error in this statement, referring to the old Ordo Romanus, printed by Hittorpius, for a similar direction as to the book of the Gospels, to be delivered to the deacons. But in fact, that Ordo does *not* mention the Gospels: neither in the edition by Hittorpius himself, in 1568; nor in the first vol. of the "Auctarium" to the Bibl. Patrum. Even if some other Ordo Romanus might give such a direction, it would yet remain to be proved that it was of an earlier date than the ixth century: for there is no doubt, that about that time, it was introduced into the churches of France, and from thence would rapidly pass over into Italy.

But it seems best, upon a point of so much interest, to give the

In nomine Sanctæ Trinitatis, accipe potestatem legendi evangelium in ecclesia Dei, tam pro vivis quam pro defunctis, in nomine Domini. Amen.

Ordinandus respondeat:

Deo gratias.

Sequitur benedictio[64] *cum nota.*

Dominus vobiscum.

Oremus.

Domine sancte, Pater fidei, spei, gratiæ, et perfectuum munerator, qui in cœlestibus et terrenis angelorum ministeriis ubique dispositis per omnia elementa voluntatis tuæ diffundis effectum: hos quoque famulos tuos speciali dignare illustrare aspectu,[65] ut tuis ob-

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original and earliest rubric, as it stands in the English pontificals of the 8th century.

"*Postea tradat ei episcopus sanctum evangelium dicens:* Accipe illud volumen evangelii. Lege, et intellige, et aliis trade, et tu opere adimple."

In the same age, and very possibly derived from the same British source, there was another remarkable rite observed in the English Church, as is proved by the same pontificals, in the ordination of deacons: this was the anointing of the hands. After the benediction we have the following rubric, and Form. "*Consecratio manuum diaconi de oleo atque chrismate.* Consecrantur manus istæ, quæsumus Domine, et sanctificentur, per istam sanctam unctionem nostramque benedictionem, ut quæcumque benedixerint, benedicta sint; et quæcumque sanctificaverint, sanctificata sint. Per."

There is evidence that this rite also was for a short time adopted from England into France: as appears from a letter of Pope Nicolas I. to an archbishop in that country: "Præterea sciscitaris utrum solis presbyteris an diaconibus debeant, cum ordinantur, manus chrismatis liquore perungi." *Conc. Gall.* Tom. 3. Upon this *Menard's* observation is; "Quod non interrogasset Pontificem Maximum Rodulphus, nisi id moris esse in diaconorum ordinatione alicubi in Gallia compertum habuisset." *Notæ in Sacr. Greg. Opera. Tom.* 3. *p.* 502.

64 "*Sequitur communis benedictio.*" Rubr. Pontif. Bangor.

65 "Hos quoque famulos tuos propitius digneris aspicere." *Pontif. Winton.* et *Exon.*

sequiis expediti, sanctis tuis altaribus ministri puri accrescant, et indulgentia puriores, eorum gradu, quos apostoli in septenario numero, beato Stephano duce ac prævio, Sancto Spiritu auctore, elegerunt, digni existant, et virtutibus universis, quibus tibi servire oportet, instructi polleant.[66] Per Dominum. In unitate ejusdem.

Tunc tradat singulis eos circueundo dalmaticam[67], *dicens sine nota :*[68]

Induat te Dominus vestimento salutis;

Ultimo concludendo ei qui lecturus est evangelium :

Et sit in corde, et in ore tuo, ad pronunciandum sanctum evangelium pacis. In nomine Patris.

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[66] "Instructi complaceant." *Pontif. Winton.* et *Exon.* "In structi, tibi complaceant." *Pontif. Rom.*

[67] As above, (Note 47.) it was observed that the tunic was of late introduction in the ordination of subdeacons, so the dalmatic was also adopted, first in the case of monks, about the 12th century. The Winchester pontifical does not notice it, as the student will see in the note below: and the English churches probably admitted it into their ordinals, early in the 13th century, as it is ordered in the Bangor MS.

[68] "*Tunc unus diaconorum legat evangelium. Quo finito, exeant diaconi: et introducantur qui ordinandi sunt ad ordinem sacerdotii, induti more diaconi, ferentes in manibus suis casulam singuli.*" *Pontif. Winton.*

"*Tunc ille, qui lecturus est evangelium benedictionem petat :* cui episcopus dalmaticam tradat, dicens:* Induat te, *etc.*" *Pontif. Bangor.*

"*Tunc det episcopus dalmaticam uni illorum cui vult, qui leget evangelium, dicens :* Induat te, *etc. Perlecto evangelio, et libro evangeliorum ab episcopo osculato, dicat episcopus,* Dominus vobiscum. *Et offertorium et omnia in missa peragat usque ad lotionem manuum; interim archidiaconus injungat cuilibet diaconorum, tria psalteria, sicut prius, et dicat:* Recedant, *etc.*" *Pontif. Exon.*

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* See the "Ancient Liturgy." Edit. 2nd. p. 44. *Note* 51.

Secundum Lucam.

Anno quintodecimo imperii Tiberii Cæsaris, procurante Pontio Pilato Judæam, tetrarcha autem Galilææ Herode, Philippo autem fratre ejus tetrarcha Iturææ et Trachonitidis regionis, et Lysania Abilenæ tetrarcha, sub principibus sacerdotum Anna et Caiapha, factum est verbum Domini super Johannem, Zachariæ filium, in deserto. Et venit in omnem regionem Jordanis, prædicans baptismum pœnitentiæ in remissionem peccatorum, sicut scriptum est in libro sermonum Isaiæ prophetæ, Vox clamantis in deserto, parate viam Domini, rectas facite semitas ejus. Omnis vallis implebitur, et omnis mons, et collis humiliabitur, et erunt prava in directa, et aspera in vias planas. Et videbit omnis caro salutare Dei.

Post evangelium archidiaconus injungat eis aliquid certum, ut supra in ordinatione subdiaconorum, et etiam dominus episcopus concedat indulgentiam triginta dierum audientibus eorum prima evangelia.

Deinde dicat archidiaconus:

Recedant qui ordinati sunt diaconi; accedant qui ordinandi sunt sacerdotes.

Caveatur de omni mutilatione membrorum, et maxime manuum, quas episcopo ostendant.[69] *Deinde episcopus dicat eis sine nota:*[70]

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[69] None of the other pontificals have this rubric.

[70] "*Hos* [*sacerdotes*] *domnus præsul de dignitate officii sacerdotalis diligenter instruens, dicat:*

Presbyteri præsunt ecclesiis Dei; et in consecratione corporis et sanguinis Christi, et officio prædicandi consortes sunt episcopis. Episcopi autem in cæteris officiis eis præsunt. Nam ad illos pertinet clericorum ordinatio: chrismatis et olei, et ecclesiarum altariorumque consecratio, et omnium instrumentorum ecclesiæ benedictio: ac plebis confirmatio. Cavere debent presbyteri, ne ver-

Sacerdotem oportet offerre,[71] benedicere,[72] præesse, prædicare, conficere,[73] et baptizare.

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bum Dei quod annunciant, pravis actibus vel moribus corrumpant: ne de eis merito fiat, quod Dominus ait per prophetam, 'cum ipsi limpidissimam aquam biberitis, reliquam pedibus vestris conculcabatis; et oves meæ quæ conculcata pedibus vestris fuerant pascebantur, et quæ pedes vestri turbaverant, hæc bibebant.' Hi cum in sacerdotio ordinantur, iterum accipiunt manus impositionem, cæteris presbyteris astantibus, manusque super eos orando levantibus. Manus vero eorum a sacro chrismate et oleo ab episcopo unguuntur, ut dignæ sint hostias Deo immolare, et languidos corpore et spiritu curare: et plenæ sint misericordiæ. Per oleum enim quod infirmitatem fugat, salutem et lucem ministrat, curatio et misericordia et bonorum operum lux designatur. Debent enim sacerdotes tantis pollere virtutibus, ut quoscumque orando tetigerint, vel pro quibuscumque oraverint, saluti restituant, eorumque bona opera coram hominibus ad eos accendendos, juxta Dominicam vocem, luceant. Balsamum quod miro odore fragrat, virtutum odorem designat. Ait enim apostolus, 'Christi bonus odor sumus.' Sacerdos enim Dominus fuit, cum seipsum, in cruce pendens, vivam hostiam summo Patri pro salute populi sui obtulit. De ipso enim ait propheta: 'Tu es sacerdos in æternum, secundum ordinem Melchisedech.'

"*Postea episcopus, inclinatis humiliter coram se, imponat manum super capita eorum: et omnes presbyteri qui adsunt, pariter cum eo: solo pontifice dicente:*

Oremus, dilectissimi, *etc.*" *Pontif. Winton.*

71 This is a duty which has been, since the beginning of the Christian Church, always appropriated to the priesthood: nor is it within the power of the Church to extend it to any inferior order, much less to permit it to the laity. Upon a subject which has been so frequently discussed in all its details, I shall do no more than remind the reader of the 15th canon of the 1st Council of Arles in the year 314, directed against the unhallowed usurpations of certain deacons. "De diaconibus, quos cognovimus multis locis offerre, placuit minime fieri debere." *Mansi. Tom.* 2. *col.* 473. And the irrefragable authority of the Council of Nice: "'Ηλθεν εις την άγιαν και μεγαλην συνοδον, ότι εν τισι τοποις και πολεσι, τοις πρεσβυτεροις την ευχαριστιαν όι διακονοι διδοασιν,

Benedicente eos episcopo postea,[74] *et manum super capita eorum tenente, et nihil eis dicente, et una manu*

ὡσπερ ὀυτε ὁ κανων ὀυτε ἡ συνηθεια παρεδωκε, τους εξουσιας μη ἐχοντας προσφερειν, τοις προσφερουσι διδοναι το σωμα του Χριστου." *Canon.* xviij.

[72] "S. Ephrem in sermone de timore Dei, inquit, 'Honora sacerdotem, atque presbyteros, ut in te benedictio oris ipsorum perveniat.' De S. Antonio abbate refert in ejus vita S. Athanasius, quod episcopis quoque ac presbyteris ad benedicendum se caput submitteret. Porro cum sacerdotes consecrentur, ut sint præcipui Christi ministri, ut ait Apostolus in Epist. 1. ad Cor., et dispensatores mysteriorum Dei; ac præterea cum per benedictiones dispensentur gratiæ, et dona Dei; merito Ecclesia adnexuit ordini presbyteratus munus benedicendi; ita ut soli sacerdotes sint ministri benedictionum.—— Hinc etiam iis, qui ob crimina presbyterali gradu moverentur, seu dignitatis suæ diminutione plecterentur, benedicendi facultatem ademptam legimus: nam S. Basilius in epist. can. ad Amphilochium, canone xxvij, decernit presbyterum, qui per ignorantiam nefariis nuptiis implicatus est, esse quidem cathedræ participem, ut scilicet cum aliis presbyteris sedere posset: 'ut is autem aliis benedicat, qui sua debet vulnera curare,' non esse consentaneum.——Tandem in iis verbis concludit: 'Nec ergo publice, nec privatim benedicat, nec Christi corpus aliis impertiat; nec aliquod aliud sacrum ministerium obeat.'" *Catalani. in pontif. Tom.* 1. *p.* 127.

The same writer observes: "Sane cavendum summopere est sacerdoti, ne benedictiones, quæ ad majoris dignitatis officium pertinent, temere, vel imperite usurpet. Sunt enim in missali, et rituali nonnullæ benedictiones, quæ non ad sacerdotes simpliciter, sed vel ad episcopum, vel ad alios facultatem habentes spectant." The student should refer to the "Dissertation on the Occasional Offices," in *Vol.* 1. *p.* ccxlviij. cclxiv.

[73] This word is not added in many pontificals, in this or corresponding admonitions: compare the modern Roman use. It is not easy to say whether it was an unnecessary addition, and that all which it signified was already included in the term "offerre;" hence therefore its omission; but the reader may gather its meaning from the following canon of a council under Louis I.: which is important also in its bearing upon other parts of this admonition. "Presbyteris enim, sicut episcopis, dispensatio mysteriorum Dei commissa est: præsunt enim ecclesiæ Christi; et in confectione divini corporis et sanguinis con-

tangente, et omnes presbyteri qui præsentes sunt, manus suas super capita eorum levatas teneant.[75]

Sequitur præfatio sacerdotum, cum nota, stando.

Oremus, dilectissimi, Deum Patrem omnipotentem, ut super hos famulos suos,[76] quos ad presbyterii munus elegit, cœlestia dona multiplicet,[77] et quod ejus dignatione suscipiunt, ipsius consequantur auxilio.

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sortes cum episcopis sunt; similiter et in doctrina populorum, et in officio prædicandi." *Synodus Aquisgranensis.* Can. vij.

[74] Again, we find almost these same words, in the often quoted Carthaginian council. "Presbyter cum ordinatur, episcopo eum benedicente, et manum super caput ejus tenente, etiam omnes presbyteri qui præsentes sunt, manus suas juxta manum episcopi super caput illius teneant." *Can.* iij. I need scarcely remind the reader of the charge given to Timothy by S. Paul: and the allusion to his own ordination. The imposition of the hands of the attendant priests, together with the bishop's, is thus to be traced to the primitive and apostolic ages; but not as an essential rite: never having been considered in any other respect than as adding to the solemnity of the ordination, and as a mark of reception into the sacred brotherhood of priests.

It has been asked, however, with regard to the imposition of hands by the bishop, why this is necessary, having already been observed in the ordination to the diaconate. Catalani (*Comment. in pontif. Tom.* 1. *p.* 130) says this is an ancient difficulty, and we certainly find it met not only by Durand, but by Amalarius as early as the 9th century: I quote the answer of this last author, who, it may be remarked, is followed by Durand (*Lib.* 2. ix. 15) almost word for word. "Quare hoc? nisi quia per consecrationem de opere ad opus transit, sicut de ministerio diaconi transit ad immolationem sacerdotalem. Quoniam nec illud opus, nec illud possumus agere, nisi dono gratiæ Dei adjuti, ut ait apostolus. Repetitur manus impositio, ac sic deprecatio primi operis transit ad deprecationem secundi." *De ecc. off. Lib.* 2. *cap.* 12.

[75] "*Postea episcopus populum commoneat, dicens sine nota:* Commune votum communis oratio, *etc.*" *Pontif. Exon.* See above, Note 61.

[76] "quorum nomina hic recitantur." *Pontif. Winton.*

[77] "Per Christum." *Pontif. Winton.*

Oremus.

Diaconus.

Flectamus genua. Levate.

Oratio.

Exaudi nos, quæsumus Domine, Deus noster, et super hos famulos tuos bene✠dictionem Sancti Spiritus, et gratiæ spiritualis[78] effunde virtutem: ut quos tuæ pietatis aspectibus offerimus consecrandos, perpetua muneris tui largitate prosequaris: *non terminando secrete:* Per Dominum nostrum, Jesum Christum, Filium tuum, qui tecum vivit et regnat in unitate.

Per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Dominus vobiscum.

Et cum spiritu tuo.

Sursum corda.

Habemus ad Dominum.

Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro.

Dignum et justum est.

Vere dignum et justum est, æquum et salutare, nos tibi semper et ubique gratias agere, Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, æterne Deus: Honorum dator, et distributor omnium dignitatum, per quem proficiunt universa, per quem cuncta firmantur, amplificatis semper in melius naturæ rationalis incrementis, per ordinem congrua ratione dispositum. Unde et sacerdotales gradus, atque officia levitarum, sacramentis mysticis instituta creverunt, ut cum pontifices summos regendis populis præfecisses, ad eorum societatis et operis adjumentum, sequentis ordinis viros et secundæ dignitatis eligeres. Sic et in eremo per septuaginta virorum prudentium mentes, Moysi spiritum propagasti; quibus ille adjutoribus usus in populo, innumerabiles

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[78] "Et gratiæ sacerdotalis." *Pontif. Winton.* et *Exon.*

multitudines facile gubernavit. Sic et in Eleazarum et Ithamar filios Aaron, paternæ plenitudinis abundantiam transfudisti; ut ad hostias salutares et frequentioris officii sacramenta, ministerium sufficeret sacerdotum: hac providentia, Domine, apostolis Filii tui doctores fidei comites addidisti; quibus illi orbem totum secundis prædicationibus impleverunt. Quapropter infirmitati quoque nostræ, Domine quæsumus, hæc adjumenta largire, qui quanto fragiliores sumus, tanto his pluribus indigemus. Da, quæsumus omnipotens Deus, in hos famulos tuos presbyterii dignitatem, et innova in visceribus eorum spiritum sanctitatis, ut acceptum a te, Deus, secundi meriti munus obtineant, censuramque morum exemplo suæ conversationis insinuent. Sint providi[79] cooperatores ordinis nostri, et eluceat in eis totius forma justitiæ, ut bonam rationem dispensationis sibi creditæ reddituri, æternæ beatitudinis præmia consequantur: *terminando secrete:*

Per eundem Dominum. In unitate ejusdem.

Hic reflectat episcopus stolam super humerum eorum dextrum ad pectus,[80] *dicens eis per singulos, sine nota:*

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[79] "Sint probi cooperatores." *Pontif. Winton.* The earlier, and probably the true reading. The modern Roman use has adopted "providi."

[80] As the corresponding rubric of the Roman pontifical explains the meaning of the somewhat obscure one in the text, I insert it here, "*Pontifex——reflectit orarium, sive stolam ab humero sinistro cujuslibet, capiens partem quæ retro pendet, et imponens super dexterum humerum, aptat eam ante pectus, in modum crucis.*"

The stole, in the ordination of priests, is not noticed in the Gregorian sacramentary, or in other of the early pontificals of foreign churches: and *Martene's* conjecture is probably correct, that it was considered unnecessary to repeat this rite. But it would seem that in this case also we have another remnant of the pri-

Accipe jugum Domini: jugum enim ejus suave est,

mitive Use of the British Church: for in those very ancient pontificals of Egbert and S. Dunstan, which I before spoke of, we find the stole appointed to be delivered again to priests: and it must be remembered that these MSS. carry us up to almost the time when the first Saxons were converted, and communion again sought for with the British Church. The first rubric in those pontificals, is:

"*Presbyter cum ordinatur, circumdentur humeri ejus cum stola ab episcopo.*"

On account of the importance of it, and the great authority of these English pontificals, I extract here also the rest of this rubric: "*Et ibidem tituletur specialiter ad qualem ecclesiam debeat ministrare, et benedicente eum episcopo, manum super caput ejus ponat. Similiter et presbyteri, qui præsentes sunt, manus suas juxta manum episcopi super caput illius teneant et componant.*"

But to return to the stole: it was not long before the custom of the English Church was introduced into France, and from thence probably into other countries. For we find the stole recognized as a peculiar part of a priest's vestments, as early as the beginning of the 9th century; and this, not only when engaged in the performance of his duties, but as a distinction to be attached to his constant dress: and it would naturally follow, that a solemn investiture should form a part of the solemnities of ordination. Thus we have these canons: (cited by Martene, *Tom.* 2. *p.* 23.) "Presbyteri sine intermissione utantur orario propter differentiam sacerdotii dignitatis." *Conc. Mogunt. can.* 28. A.D. 813. "Presbyteri non vadant nisi stola vel orario induti." *Conc. Tribur. can.* 26. And John of Salisbury tell us, in his life of Thomas a Becket, "stolam jugum Christi suave circa collum diebus ac noctibus habebat."

That this was the general symbolical meaning of the stole, is clear from many writers. Alcuin says: "Orarium, id est, stola, dicitur eo quod oratoribus, id est, prædicatoribus concedatur. Admonet illum, qui illo induitur, ut memor sit, sub jugo Christi, quod leve et suave est, esse se constitutum." *Cap.* "Quid significent vestimenta." *Edit.* Hittorpius. p. 77. Again, Amalarius: "Per stolam designatur onus leve ac suave, de quo Dominus dicit: *Tollite jugum meum*, etc. Per jugum, evangelium intelligimus. — In eo quod stola ad genua tendit, quæ solent curvari causa humilitatis, hoc intelligimus, quod Dominus dicit: *Discite a me, quia mitis sum et humilis corde.* Sciat se diaconus in stola super-

et onus ejus leve.[81] Stola innocentiæ induat te Dominus.[82]

Pax tecum.

Resp. Et cum spiritu tuo.

Hic vestiat eos casula circa humeros,[83] *tantum dicens ad unumquemque:*

Accipe vestem sacerdotalem, per quam caritas intelligitur: potens est enim Deus augere tibi caritatem, et opus perfectum.[84]

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posita collo, ministrum evangelii esse, non præpositum." *De ecc. off. Lib.* 2. *Cap.* 20. To the same purpose also, Durand, in his *Rationale*, *Lib.* 3. *Cap.* 5: whom it is unnecessary to quote: except this sentence: "stola ab humero sinistro sacerdotis in dextrum dum ordinatur, reflectitur, quia cum obedientia incipiat ab activa per dilectionem proximi, transit in contemplativam vitam per dilectionem Dei." §. 3. But the reader who wishes to discover more of the mystical significations of the stole, and other ecclesiastical vestments, will find enough to repay (?) his labour in this third book of Durand.

[81] The Winchester MS. places this sentence, after the investing with the chasuble, and the form, "Accipe vestem."

The Bangor MS. omits the form "Accipe vestem."

The Exeter pontifical reads:

" ——„—— onus ejus leve. Pax tecum. *Resp.* Et cum spiritu tuo. *Postea imponat cuilibet successive casulam usque ad scapulas, quam quilibet teneat sic complicatam a parte anteriori deorsum dependentem, dicens cuilibet:* Stola innocentiæ induat te Dominus. *Resp.* Deo gratias. *Episcopus subjungit in fine:* Accipe vestem, *etc.*"

[82] The form in the pontificals of Egbert and Dunstan was: "stola justitiæ circumdet Dominus cervicem tuam, et ab omni corruptione peccati purificet Dominus mentem tuam."

[83] In the Dunstan and other earliest English pontificals, the chasuble was not put on until after the anointing had been completed. The following, in some MSS., are the rubric and form of words: "*Et induat casula, et dicit episcopus:* Per hæc indumenta stolam et casulam salutis indui merearis æternæ perpetuitatis plenitudinem, cum sanctis sacerdotibus Christo ministrantibus: ut præmia feliciter capessere valeas repromissa. Per."

[84] "Casula quæ super omnia

Resp. Deo gratias.

Sequitur consecratio cum,[85]

Dominus vobiscum.

Oremus.

Oratio. Deus, sanctificationum[86] omnium auctor, cujus vera consecratio, plenaque benedictio est, tu, Domine, super hos famulos tuos, quos presbyterii honore dedicamus, munus tuæ benedictionis effunde: ut gravitate actuum et censura vivendi probent se esse seniores, his instituti disciplinis, quas Tito et Timotheo Paulus exposuit, ut in lege tua die ac nocte meditantes, quod legerint credant, quod crediderint doceant, quod docuerint imitentur; justitiam, constantiam, misericordiam, fortitudinem, cæterasque virtutes in se ostendant, exemplo probent, admonitione confirment, ac purum et immaculatum ministerii sui donum custodiant: et per obsequium plebis tuæ, panem et vinum in corpus et sanguinem Filii tui sancta et immaculata benedictione transforment, et inviolabili caritate, in

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indumenta ponitur, significat charitatem, quæ alias virtutes excellit." *Alcuin.* ut supra. And see *Durand. Lib. 3.*

[85] "*Benedictio, vel consecratio, manuum sacerdotis ante unctionem chrismatis:*

"Benedic, Domine, et sanctifica has manus sacerdotum tuorum *N.* ad consecrandas hostias, quæ pro delictis atque negligentiis populi offeruntur; et ad cætera benedicenda quæ ad usus populi necessaria sunt; et præsta, quæsumus, ut quæcunque benedixerint, benedicantur, et quæcunque sacraverint, sacrentur, Salvator mundi: Qui vivis et regnas, Deus. Per.

"*Consecratio manuum sacerdotis de oleo et chrismate:*

"Consecrare et sanctificare, etc." *Pontif. Winton.*

[86] This prayer is in the sacramentary of S. Gregory, and other MSS. In the pontificals of Egbert and Dunstan it is entitled "*Consummatio presbyteri:*" which, in sense, is retained in the Winchester pontifical, as the reader will observe in the note below.

virum perfectum, in mensuram ætatis plenitudinis Christi, in die justi et æterni judicii, conscientia pura, fide plena, Spiritu Sancto pleni persolvant. Per eundem. In unitate ejusdem.

Expleta autem hac oratione,[87] *genuflectendo coram altare incipiat episcopus hymnum.*

Veni Creator Spiritus. *etc.*[88]

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87 "*Qua dicta, episcopus cum omnibus ministris suis ante altare in medio genuflectat, cantando hymnum,* Veni Creator Spiritus. *Et chorus prosequatur. Et incipiat episcopus cum suis ministris quemlibet versum illius hymni, et chorus prosequatur. Hymno dicto sedeat episcopus, sicut prius, et perungat oleo sancto chrismate mixto in patena, manus cujuslibet sacerdotis ordinandi, a pollice dextro ad indicem manus sinistræ: deinde ab indice dextro ad pollicem sinistram, dicens:* Consecrare et sanctificare, *etc.*" *Pontif. Exon.*

The Bangor MS. after the hymn "Veni Creator," directs:

"*Postea accipiat oleum sanctum, cui misceatur chrisma, pro eo quod in consecratione chrismatis fit mentio de ordinibus ecclesiasticis per ipsum perficiendis: et faciens crucem super ambas manus, dicat singulis:* Conse ✠ crare, et sancti ✠ ficare, *etc.*"

88 This hymn is not appointed in the Winchester pontifical, and it would appear that it was introduced into this part of the offices of the Western Church late in the xith century. The earliest MS. in which it has been found, is (I believe) a pontifical "ad usum ecclesiæ Suessionensis," of about that date, and from which Martene has printed his "vij. ordo." *Tom.* 2. *p.* 50. That manuscript seems to have been remarkably deficient in rubrics, but after the form "Consecrare" is added "Veni Creator Spiritus."

"Hymno 'Veni Creator' quo Spiritus Sanctus invocatur, ex veterum sententia singularis quædam vis inest. Præterea S. Trinitati tam gratus est ut, si mens concordet voci, Spiritus Sanctus non possit quin cum septem suis muneribus cantantibus adveniat. Septem dona Spiritus Sancti sunt timor, pietas, scientia, fortitudo, consilium, intellectus, sapientia. Unde versus:

"Sap. intel. con. for. sci. pi. ti. collige dona."

Daniel. Thes. Hymnol. *Tom.* 1. *p.* 215. Cf. *Clichtoveus.* Elucidatorium. *p.* 40.

Dicto hymno, omnibus surgentibus, episcopus stando benedicat manus ordinandorum expansas, cum nota.

Dominus vobiscum.

Oremus.

Bene✠dic et sancti✠fica, Domine, has manus sacerdotum tuorum ad consecrandas hostias, quæ pro delictis atque negligentiis populi offeruntur: et ad cætera benedicenda, quæ ad usus ejus necessaria sunt. Per Christum.

Quæ quædam oratio potest dici vel dimitti ad placitum episcopi.

Postea[89] *episcopus, depositis chirothecis, et resumpto*

[89] I have spoken somewhat already in the preliminary dissertation upon the rite of unction. Here I shall observe that the earlier practice of the English Church, as shewn by the pontificals of Egbert and Dunstan, was to anoint the head also: the order of the first is: "*Consecratio manus:* Benedic, Domine, et sanctifica has manus, *etc. Faciens crucem sanctam de chrismate in manibus ejus, dicis:* Consecrentur manus istæ: *etc. Consecratio capitis oleo:* Unguatur et consecretur caput tuum cœlesti benedictione in ordine sacerdotali, in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. Amen. Pax tibi. Et cum spiritu tuo." With which in that MS. the ordination of priests concludes. The Dunstan pontifical, as I have just said, also anoints the head, with the same form of words: but it omits the rubric as to the sign of the cross, and proceeds afterwards to direct the investing with the chasuble, and some other prayers. From the omission of all notice of this rite in the Winchester pontifical, we may conclude that it was omitted by the English Church about the 10th or 11th century.*

In the same way with the other, if I may so say, primitive customs of the English Church, above spoken of, this rite also seems to have been introduced for a time into some of the churches of France. Two early MSS. (of about the 9th century,) are shewn

* This however admits of doubt, if a manuscript, said by Martene, *Tom.* 2. *p.* 23. to have belonged to Archbishop Thomas à Becket, really was his: for in that also, the same rite is ordered.

annulo sedeat, et expansa toballia super genua accipiat oleum sanctum, cui misceatur chrisma, pro eo quod in consecratione chrismatis fit mentio de ordinibus ecclesiasticis per ipsum perficiendis: scilicet, quando episcopus incipit, Conse✠crare et sancti✠ficare digneris, Domine Deus, manus istas, *faciat cruces singulas ad illa duo verba, super manus sacerdotis, et intingat pollicem manus dexteræ suæ in oleo et chrismate commixtis super patenam in bombace seu cotone; dicendo hæc verba,* Per istam unctionem, *faciat crucem super manus sacerdotis cum dicto oleo et chrismate, et ungendos incipiendo crucem unctionis intra manus sacerdotis a principio pollicis manus dexteræ presbyteri, usque ad finem manus sinistræ indicis sacerdotis. Item incipiendo in secunda unctione, complendo crucem a principio indicis manus dextræ presbyteri usque ad finem pollicis manus sinistræ.*

Sequitur consecratio manuum sacerdotis.

Conse✠crare et sancti✠ficare digneris, Domine, manus istas per istam unctionem et nostram bene✠dictionem, ut quæcunque consecraverint conse✠crentur, et quæcunque benedixerint benedicantur, et sanctificentur, in nomine Domini nostri, Jesu Christi.

Postea[90] *lavet manus suas si voluerit, vel imponatur*

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by Martene, in his extracts from them, to have adopted it.

[90] "*Deinde patenam cum oblatis, et calicem cum vino det singulis, dicens ad eos lenta voce;* Accipite (*sic*) potestatem, *etc.*" *Pontif. Winton.*

"*Hoc facto, accipiat patenam cum oblatis, et calicem cum vino, et det singulis, ita dicens;* Accipe potestatem, *etc.*" *Pontif. Bangor.*

"*Et jungat manus eorum, et sic teneant manus suas junctas usque in finem missæ, quibus taliter expeditis, episcopus manus lavet, et post tradet cuilibet calicem, cum vino et aqua, et patenam superpositam cum hostia, quem accipiant inter indices*

digitale .i. ponsir. [?] *quousque lavat manus suas. Quo facto, accipiat patenam cum oblatis et calicem*[91] *cum vino, et det singulis, inter indices et medios digitos, cuppam calicis cum patena, remanentibus manibus junctis, ita dicens sine nota, et eos circueundo:*

Accipe potestatem offerre sacrificium Deo, missamque celebrare tam pro vivis quam pro defunctis. In nomine Domini Jesu Christi.

Resp. Deo gratias.

Tunc vertat[92] *episcopus, et dicat offertorium.*

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et medios digitos, primo videlicet pedem calicis, et post hostiam in medio patenæ, dicens cuilibet; Accipe potestatem. *etc.*" *Pontif. Exon.*

91 The student will find some observations on this part of the office in Martene and Morinus, to which I must refer him: and merely remind him, that no mention of this rite is made in the English pontificals, before the xith century. Nor is it to be found in the early sacramentaries of Gelasius, or Gregory: or in the often quoted canons of the ivth Carthaginian council.

92 "*Tunc dicat episcopus* Dominus vobiscum. Oremus. *Canteturque offertorium, totamque celebret missam usque ad benedictionem.*" Pontif. Bangor.

"*Post hæc procedat in missa.*" Pontif. Exon.

The Winchester pontifical is very different from the other three, from hence to the end of the office: and I extract the remainder entire, as it is in that ancient MS. It thus proceeds, after the form "Accipite potestatem." see above, Note 90.

"*Ad consummandum presbyteratus officium.*

"Sit nobis, fratres, communis oratio, ut hi qui in adjutorium et utilitatem nostræ salutis eligguntur presbyteri, benedictione Divini muneris indulgentiam consequantur; et gratia Sancti Spiritus sacerdotalia dona privilegio virtutum, ne impares loco honoris deprehendantur, obtineant. Per eum qui vivit.

Item oratio. Oremus.

Deus sanctificationum omnium auctor, cujus vera consecratio, *etc.* (*ut supra.*)

"*Sequitur ultima benedictio.*

"Benedictio Dei Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti descendat super vos, ut sitis benedicti in ordinem sacerdotalem; offerentes placabiles hostias pro peccatis et

Dominus vobiscum.

Oremus.

Offert. Exulta filia Sion: prædica filia Hierusalem: ecce Rex tuus venit tibi sanctus, et Salvator.

Vers. Loquetur pacem gentibus, et potestas ejus a mare usque ad mare, et a flumine usque ad terminos orbis terræ.

Dum cantatur offertorium,[93] *ponantur tot hostiæ quot*

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offensionibus vestris, et populi, omnipotenti Deo, cui est honor et gloria in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

"Pax Domini sit semper vobiscum.

"*Et osculetur singulos. Et omnes qui ordinandi sunt, (sic) oblationes deferant ad manus episcopi, nec aliquis abscedat, donec missa perfiniatur.*

"*Benedictio in missa ordinationis clericorum, in quocunque tempore ordinentur.*

"Deus, qui de diversis ordinibus sanctam suam ecclesiam collocavit in unius fidei fundamento, corda vestra ad exequenda mandatorum suorum præcepta consociare dignetur unitatis vinculo. *Amen.*

"Sicque vos altaris sui ministros efficiat, ut bonorum operum forma aliis effecti, et de ejusdem servitutis obsequio remuneramini, et ejus templum jugiter esse mereamini. *Amen.*

"Quatenus corpore et mente in conspectu illius placentes, et de animarum lucro sanctarum gaudeatis, et ab eo præmium vitæ æternæ percipere valeatis. *Amen.*

"Quod ipse. Benedictio."

[93] I must remind the student, that the whole of the office of the mass, including the secrets, and the canon, is now said in the Roman Church, so that the newly ordained priests may hear: not as is usual, in a tone so low, that none can hear except the priest who celebrates. The modern pontifical has a rubric to this express effect: "*Secretas morose dicat, ut ordinandi ad sacerdotium possint illas cum eo dicere, debent enim ex consuetudine concelebrare, et etiam verba consecrationis proferre.*" I mention this, because the points involved in this practice, though it be an exception, are of very high importance: more especially, the repetition, by all, of the words of Consecration. There is moreover evidence, that in the early ages, priests not only at their ordination, but at other times, and throughout the Christian world, celebrated the Divine Service to-

sufficiant presbyteris ordinandis ad communicandum.[94]
Tunc dicat episcopus:
Quid retribuam Domino: *more solito.*

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gether with the Bishop. See *Morinus* de sacr. ordin. *Part.* iij. *Dissert.* 8. *Cap.* 1. *Catalani,* in Pontif. Rom. *Tom.* 1. *p.* 46. and *Martene. Tom.* 2. *p.* 24.

The chief point, as I need scarcely remind the student, involved in this matter, is its bearing upon the question of the consecration of the sacred elements, by the mere repetition of the words of Institution. I must refer him to my Preface to the Ancient Liturgy, (*p.* c. et seqq: 2nd Edit.) where he will find this subject discussed. There can be no doubt that both in the Eastern and Western Churches, the practice of "concelebration," as I have stated above, was on certain occasions allowed; nor are any difficulties involved in it, until we are asked to consent to that novel figment, that by the mere words of Institution only, and by them alone, the Holy Eucharist is consecrated. Then certainly, steps in this question: one, which the Roman doctors see the force of, but fail to explain: the doubt is this; (I use the words of Catalani) "An presbytero cum episcopo concelebranti adscribi debeat consecratio, si ante episcopum verba consecrationis protulerit?" *In pontif. Rom. Comment. Tom.* 1. *p.* 142. He answers it, by making the whole effect depend upon *Intention:* and cites Pope Innocent III. whose words are: "Sane dici, et responderi probabiliter potest, quod sive prius, sive posterius proferant sacerdotes, referri debet eorum intentio ad instar prolationis episcopi, cui concelebrant." *Lib.* IV. de mysteriis missæ. It will be observed that the pope speaks doubtfully: and as Catalani is himself obliged to allow, many great writers attempted to get rid of the difficulty, by proposing the entire abrogation of the custom: or at least, that the words of Institution should be repeated by the celebrant alone. Among these were *Durand* (in IV. Distinct. xiij. Quæst. iij.,) who plainly says that Innocent decides "ut doctor, et non ut papa:"— *Cajetan* in iij. part. S. Thomæ. Quæst. lxxxij. and *Gabriel Biel,* in Canon Missæ: lect. vj. To these may also be added Morinus, who declares that the general practice once allowed had very properly been restricted, "præsertim cum mos ille fuerit doctoribus scholasticis innumerarum difficultatum seges amplissima, nonnullis asserentibus hoc fieri posse, aliis negantibus, aliis certos quosdam possibilitatis modos et terminos excogitantibus; omnibus deinde ut sese ab adversariorum telis

Postea episcopus fricet digitum suum cum pane, deinde abluat manus. Ablutis manibus, episcopus revertat se altare, ad divinum officium exequendum.

Secretum.

Super has hostias fidelium, Domine quæsumus, propitio vultu respice, et quia nostris meritis non valemus, his potius muneribus tuo occursui commendemur.

Aliud secretum.

Tuis, quæsumus Domine, operare mysteriis, ut hæc tibi munera dignis mentibus offeramus. Per Dominum nostrum.

Præfatio quotidiana.

Deinde dicat episcopus totam missam usque ad benedictionem dandam:[95] *post* Per omnia sæcula sæculorum, *Ante* Agnus Dei *dicat diaconus:*

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tuerentur, novas et involutas reculas, ὑπηνέμιους και ἀνεμοφορήτους cudentibus et recudentibus." And he proceeds to cite a whole host of schoolmen, and others. *De S. Ordin: pars.* iij. *p.* 126.

[94] After the Cup was denied to the laity, and to all in fact except the officiating priest, for some time it was usual at ordinations to communicate all who had been ordained, in both kinds. Thus a pontifical cited by Martene directs the communion to be given: and the next restriction seems to have been, that in both kinds was to be allowed only when the Pope himself ordained. I think it well to quote this from a MS. Roman pontifical in the Colbertine library, as printed by Martene, *Tom.* 2. *p.* 85.

"*Post communionem vero pontificis, ante perfusionem, ordinati flexis genibus, facta confessione, et osculata dextra pontificis, sacram communionem recipiunt de manu pontificis, recipiendo osculum pacis ab eo, scilicet presbyteri et diaconi: sanguinem autem recipient de manu diaconi qui cantavit evangelium, et redeunt ad loca sua circa altare. Si alius a papa ordinationem faciant, communicabunt omnes sacerdotes primo, diaconi secundo, et subdiaconi tertio de corpore Domini tantum, et non de sanguine.*"

[95] "*Ad benedictionem dicat diaconus,* Humiliate. *etc.*" *Pontif. Bangor.*

"*Sequatur solemnis benedictio.*" *Pontif. Exon.*

Humiliate vos.

Tunc, dimisso corpore Christi super patenam, convertat se ad populum, et accepto baculo det benedictionem istam, vel aliam tempori competentem :

Omnipotens Deus sua vos clementia benedicat,[96] et sensum in vobis sapientiæ salutaris infundat. Amen.

Catholicæ fidei vos documentis enutriat, et in sanctis operibus perseverabiles reddat. Amen.

Gressus vestros ab errore convertat, et viam vobis pacis et caritatis ostendat. Amen.

Quod ipse præstare dignetur, cujus regnum et imperium sine fine permanet: in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Benedictio Dei omnipotentis, Patris ✠ et Filii ✠ et Spiritus ✠ Sancti, descendat super vos et maneat semper. Amen.[97]

Deinde dicat episcopus :

Et pax ejus.

Post communionem episcopi, sacerdotes accedant ad communicandum.[98]

Postea dicatur communio.

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[96] "Bene ✠ dicat." *Pontif. Bangor.*

[97] "*Data benedictione, accedant ad pacem, et communionem sacerdotes et levitæ si voluerint: antequam dicatur collecta ad complendum, ponat episcopus manus super capita singulorum, dicens :* Accipe Spiritum, *etc.*" *Pontif. Bangor.*

"*Dicto* Agnus Dei, *et postquam episcopus fuerit communicatus, communicet sacerdotes si voluerit : et postea induat chirothecas et mitram, et teneat in manu sinistra baculum pastoralem, et ponat manum dextram super caput cujuslibet sacerdotis, dicens :* Accipe Spiritum, *etc.*" *Pontif. Exon.*

[98] We cannot conclude from this obscure rubric, whether the communion was to be administered in one, or in both kinds.

Nor does the English pontifical make any mention of a custom,

Exultavit ut gigas ad currendam viam: a summo cœlo egressio ejus, et occursus ejus usque ad summum ejus.

Antequam[99] *dicatur postcommunio, ponat episcopus manus suas super capita singulorum, dicens:*

Accipe Spiritum Sanctum: quorum remiseris pec-

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which was probably nevertheless observed, of kissing the hand of the bishop, before communion. The modern pontifical of the Church of Rome has inserted a rubric to that effect, and *Durand* in his Rationale speaks of it as the common practice in his time. *Lib.* 2. *Cap.* x. But with this difference; and it would be curious to discover whether such was the practice continued in the Church of England: viz.: that the bishop kissed each newly ordained priest, but the others, deacons, &c., kissed the bishop's hand. And the reason he gives for this, is important, and will excuse, I trust, the length of this note. "Quia pontifex osculando sacerdotem denotat, quod ille ad æqualitatem Ordinis recipitur, quantum ad sacramentum Eucharistiæ consecrandum, quod est sacramentum amoris, quod per osculum significatur. Diaconus vero, et subdiaconus non recipiuntur ad talem æqualitatem, sed ad imitationem bonæ operationis, *etc.*"

[99] In this place, the modern Roman pontifical has inserted this rubric. "*Incepto responsorio, pontifex, accepta mitra, vertit se ad presbyteros ordinatos, qui ante altare. coram ipso stantes profitentur fidem, quam prædicaturi sunt dicentes:* Credo in Deum. *etc.*" This does not appear to be an improper addition to the old office, although the reason why it should have been placed here, is not very obvious. There is no ancient authority whatever for its introduction, except one pontifical of the 13th century, cited by Catalani, (*Comment. in Pontif. Rom. Tom.* 1. *p.* 148.) in which the Creed is ordered to be said, before the ordination service commenced. But there is a canon of the eleventh council of Toledo: "Ut unusquisque qui ad ecclesiasticos gradus est accessurus, non ante honorem consecrationis accipiat, quam placiti sui innodatione promittat, ut fidem catholicam sincera cordis devotione custodiens, juste et pie vivere debeat, et ut in nullis operibus suis, canonicis regulis contradicat." *Concil. Mansi. Tom.* xi. *col.* 143.

cata, remittuntur eis: et quorum retinueris, retenta erunt.[1]

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[1] This very important part of the office of ordination of priests, is, comparatively, of late introduction. I doubt whether any example of it is to be discovered earlier than the xijth century: and although it had been adopted into the use of the Church of Bangor, before the end of the next century, we have no trace of it in the Winchester pontifical. All the great ritualists have failed, and acknowledge it, in their search after earlier authority. Martene has cited an undoubtedly very remarkable passage, from the life of a bishop of Cambrai, who lived in the 10th century: where the writer is speaking of that bishop being ordained priest, and among other circumstances remarks; "Cumque ad manus impositionem pontificalis diceretur novo presbytero, 'Accipe Spiritum Sanctum, quorum remiseris peccata, *etc.*'" Martene's most just criticism is: "Verum quid unicum testimonium tot pontificalibus libris opponendum?" *Tom.* 2. *p.* 23.

For all the early pontificals omit this second imposition of hands; and explicit delivery of the power to remit or retain sins. It is not in the early English MSS. of Egbert or Dunstan, or the Winchester Use: it is not in any of the foreign Orders, printed by Martene, before the 12th century: it is not in the old Sacramentaries of S. Gregory, or Gelasius: nor, lastly, does one of the ancient ritualists, Isidore, or Amalarius, or Strabo, Alcuin, Micrologus, or Ivo Carnotensis, allude to it in the most distant terms.

With regard to the controversialists of the Roman Church, this fact places them in a considerable difficulty: and really I cannot help observing, how very numerous the difficulties are which an appeal even to the documents of "the dark ages," (not to say, the primitive ages,) thrusts them into. Because, unhappily, the Tridentine Council has authoritatively declared: "Si quis dixerit, per sacram ordinationem non dari Spiritum Sanctum; ac proinde, frustra episcopos dicere, 'Accipe Spiritum Sanctum;'——anathema sit." Sess. 23. *Canon.* IV. *Bellarmin* does not shrink from the undeniable conclusion which must be drawn from this canon: (the reader will not forget that the first imposition of hands was given in silence; see above, p. 204.) and he plainly says: "Concilium declarat, tunc ordinari presbyteros, et tunc dari illis gratiam Spiritus Sancti, cum eis dicitur: *Accipite Spiritum Sanctum.* At cum hoc dicitur, manus impo-

Tunc trahat unicuique casulam in sinu per scapulas, osculans eum,[2] *et dicens:*[3]

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nuntur, ut patet ex pontificali, et ecclesiæ consuetudine; ergo sentiebat concilium, *illam impositionem manus esse de essentia.*" *Opera. Tom.* 3. *p.* 613. *De Sacr. Ord. Lib.* 1. *Cap.* ix. Goar takes the same view. *Euchol. p.* 279. *note* 11. It is not necessary to quote other writers to the same effect: because in this case, it is not what a single doctor, or ten doctors have said, but what the Council of Trent has not feared seemingly to set its seal to: namely, this: that for 1000 years the service for the ordination of priests wanted *an essential* part.

The true explanation is, that, there being inherent in the priestly office, power over both the mystical and the eucharistical body of Christ, power, that is, to consecrate the sacred elements of Bread and Wine, and power to rule and to absolve the living members of the Church militant, this power was given entirely and at once, by the single and first imposition of hands. It was very wise in the revisers of our ordinal not to omit this lately added clause, "Whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven; and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained:" but it was still more wise and accordant with all ancient precedent both of opinion and practice, by uniting the two Forms, and restoring the one imposition of hands, to remove all doubts and difficulties upon the point.

[2] See above Note 98.

[3] The Roman rubric somewhat explains this: "*Deinde explicans casulam, quam unusquisque habet super humeros complicatam, induit illa quemlibet, singulis dicens:* Stola innocentiæ induat te Dominus." The form does not seem very appropriate.

Also in the modern Roman use, there here follows, as in our own ordinal in another place, an oath or promise of canonical obedience. The rubric is "*Et mox unusquisque iterum ad pontificem accedit, et genuflexus ponit manus suas junctas inter manus pontificis dicentis cuilibet, si suus est ordinarius,* Promittis mihi, et successoribus meis reverentiam et obedientiam? *et ille respondet:* Promitto." Both *Martene* and *Catalani* agree in the fact that this is a ceremony of late introduction, at least in this place, after communion. But for the act of promising obedience, by the priest to his bishop, at some time before, and generally immediately before, the rite itself of ordination, we have sufficient evidence. And the present ordinal of the Church of England, in this matter also, has returned to a most

Pax Domini sit semper tecum.

Et ordinandus [sic] respondeat:

Et cum spiritu tuo.

Et per manus[4] *commendet se orationibus eorum singulis, dicens:*

Ora pro me, frater.

Sequitur finalis benedictio cum nota stando, et ad eos converso:

Benedictio Dei Patris ✠, et Filii ✠, et Spiritus ✠ Sancti, descendat super vos, ut sitis benedicti in ordine sacerdotali, et offeratis placabiles hostias pro peccatis atque offensionibus populi, omnipotenti Deo: cui est honor, et gloria, in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.[5]

Quibus expletis, proponat eis episcopus stando sine nota:[6]

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just and primitive observance.

Thus, Martene cites some pontificals of about the xith century, in which, at the commencement of the office, we find this question made by the bishop. "Vis episcopo tuo, ad cujus parochiam ordinandus es, obediens et consentiens esse, secundum justitiam et ministerium." To which the candidate is to reply, "Volo." But this learned writer might also have appealed to the same canon (the xth) of the Council of Toledo, A.D. 675, which I quoted above: "Placuit huic sancto concilio —— ut debitum per omnia honorem, atque obsequii reverentiam præeminenti sibi unusquisque dependat, juxta illud beati papæ Leonis edictum; Qui scit se quibusdam esse præpositum, non moleste ferat aliquem sibi esse prælatum, sed obedientiam quam exigit, etiam ipse dependat." *Concil. Mansi. Tom.* xi. *Col.* 143.

4 "*Et episcopus complectens indices utriusque manus cujuslibet ordinati sacerdotis, osculando dicat:* Ora pro me, frater. *Et tunc redeat ad altare, et super ordinatos sacerdotes dicat benedictionem:* Benedictio Dei, *etc.*" *Pontif. Exon.*

The Bangor MS. agrees with the text; except that it calls the benediction, "*communis benedictio.*"

5 "*Et moneantur attente audire.*" Rubr. Pontif. Exon.

6 It does not appear that this

Quia rés quam tractaturi estis satis periculosa est, fratres carissimi, moneo ut diligenter et honeste totius missæ ordinem, et consecrationem, et fractionem, atque communicationem, ab aliis jam doctis sacerdotibus discatis, priusquam missam cantare præsumatis.[7]

Deinde[8] *archidiaconus injungat eis novem missas; videlicet, tres missas de Trinitate, tres de sancta Maria, pro statu universalis ecclesiæ, et tranquillitate regis et regni, et prosperitate domni, et tres missas de* Requiem,

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admonition can be traced earlier than to the 13th century. Still there are many evidences which shew that the practice of diligently learning the duties of their office, before actually entering upon them, was common long before. Nor could the necessity of it be light, when we remember the intricacy and multitude of the rubrics which the newly ordained priests were to observe.

[7] "*Hic injungatur eis aliqua quotidiana pœnitentia, ps.* Ad te levavi*: vel aliquis alius psalmus. Hic incipiatur postcommunio. Restat ut dicatur collecta missæ ad complendum.*" Rubr. Pontif. Bangor.

"*Quo dicto, dicatur postcommunio.*" Rubr. Pontif. Exon.

[8] None of the early pontificals, or the ancient sacramentaries, have any notice to this effect; it is therefore of late introduction. The utmost, which appears in any of them to lead to it, is a simple and religious request by the bishop that the newly ordained should pray for him. But these directions to say certain prayers, psalms, or masses, which as the reader has seen, has been divided in the office in our text, into several admonitions by the archdeacon to each degree in the ministry, have been collected by the modern Roman pontifical, into one set form, to be solemnly pronounced by the bishop, after the postcommunion, and the blessing. I think it right to extract it, bearing, as it does, on much that has gone before.

"Singuli ad primam tonsuram, vel ad quatuor minores ordines promoti, dicite semel psalmos pœnitentiales, cum litaniis, versiculis, et orationibus. Ad subdiaconatum, vel diaconatum, nocturnum talis diei. Ad presbyteratum vero ordinati post primam vestram missam, tres alias missas, videlicet, unam de Spiritu Sancto, aliam de beata Maria semper virgine, tertiam pro fidelibus defunctis dicite, et omnipotentem Deum etiam pro me orate." *Pontif. Rom*

pro animabus patris et matris et pro salute omnium fidelium defunctorum, vel injungatur eis aliqua alia quotidiana pœnitentia, videlicet psalmus Ad te levavi *vel aliquis alius psalmus. Et domnus episcopus concedat indulgentiam quadraginta dierum omnibus audientibus eorum primas missas.*

His expletis, dicat episcopus postcommunionem:

Quæsumus Domine, Deus noster, ut sacrosancta mysteria, quæ pro reparationis nostræ munimine contulisti, et præsens nobis remedium esse facias et futurum.

Alia postcommunio.

Quos tuis, Domine, reficis sacramentis, continuis attolle benignus auxiliis, ut tuæ redemptionis effectum et mysteriis capiamus et moribus. Per Dominum.[9]

Deinde dicat diaconus:

Benedicamus Domino.[10]

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[9] "Et sic finiatur missa: injungantur cuilibet tres missæ pro statu ecclesiæ, de Trinitate, de Sancto Spiritu, et de beata virgine Maria. Et quilibet ordinatus lavet manus suas cum sale et aqua, antequam exeat ecclesia: postea celebretur indulgentia xl dierum, omnibus primam missam eorum audientibus.

"Quando episcopus vult offerre minores ordines in dominicis vel in festis, responsoria, lectiones [?], dicta oratione principali, conveniant ante episcopum ordinandi, vocati et nomine sui singillatim, et unus archidiaconus, vel sacerdos, seu clericus, sonora voce, *Postulat.* Et cætera sicut in generalibus est dictum: tunc episcopus tradet illis claves ecclesiæ, et omnia alia quæ in generalibus ordinibus habentur, dimittendo lectiones, et gradualia, quæ tunc temporis non habentur." *Pontif. Exon.*

[10] This of course would not be said at times when the "Ite, missa est," was, according to the use of Salisbury, the appointed form. The student should refer to "*the Ancient Liturgy*," (second edit:) p. 136. *note* 80. And here I would again remind him, that all those parts of the text, which refer to the communion service of the day, the collects, gradual, epistle, secrets, &c., would also change according to the proper requirements of the season at which the ordinations took place.

Postea dicat episcopus: Placeat tibi Sancta Trinitas: *et cætera, more solito. Missa completa, recedant sacerdotes ad lavandum manus.*[11]

Iste modus prædictus servetur in omnibus aliis ordinibus subsequentibus.[12]

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[11] This washing of the hands of the priests, is directed to be done according to the modern use of the Church of Rome, in the middle of the office. "*Interea dum offertorium cantatur, vel etiam prius, ordinati sacerdotes poterunt lavare manus suas cum medulla panis, et aqua bene mundare, atque extergere mappulis illis, quibus ligatæ erant, et aqua ablutionis hujusmodi projiciatur in sacrarium.*" Rubr. Pontif. Rom. No direction to this effect is to be found in the early pontificals, and it was introduced, as a consequence of the extreme reverence which began in the middle ages to be paid to the consecrated oil, whether chrism or not, which was used in the unction. To the same purpose, were the careful directions, which were so frequently repeated as to the unction at confirmation; see *Vol.* 1. *p.* ccxiv: and above, as to coronations, p. 24.

[12] That is, at the other Ember days, or seasons of general ordinations. The Salisbury pontifical, from which the text is taken, contains, which is not the case with all pontificals, the variations of lections, epistles, gospels, collects, &c., according to the different times of the year. Each of them, as it occurs in its place in the manuscript, referring back to this office of the Ember-day in Advent, for those portions of it which related to the ordination itself, and were unchangeable.

Appendix.

Admonitio informatoria episcopi ad primam tonsuram recipientes, et ad omnes alios ordines.

Informatio de prima tonsura clericali, et sumitur de verbis magistri Hugonis de Sancto Victore, libro de sacramentis.[1]

PRIMUM signaculum clerici est corona, quia per hoc signum eligitur in partem sortis ministerii divini, cui servire regnare est, sicut dicit Petrus, 'Vos estis genus electum, regale sacerdotium.' Propter hoc et coma ei in modum coronæ rotundæ tonditur, et caput desuper nudatur, ut per hoc et se ad regiam in Christo digni-

[1] These admonitions are placed at the beginning of the Sarum pontifical, from which the offices in this volume are edited. I have thought them well worthy of a place here, as an appendix to the Ordination Service: and the reader will be repaid by comparing them with those, different, but similar in character, printed by Martene, in his great work; *de Ant. Ecc. Rit. Tom.* 2. *p.* 17. He speaks of them, as of uncommon occurrence, and deserving consideration. The copy in which he found them, was a manuscript pontifical of the church of Rouen: imperfect, not containing the admonition to the "ostiarii," as he himself remarks; nor the "informatio de prima tonsura," of the existence of which, as a preliminary admonition of the same kind, he was probably not aware.

This "informatio" is stated in the text to have been derived from Hugh S. Victor on the Sacraments. But it differs much from the chapter on the subject, *Lib.* 1. *Cap.* 32. as given in the Auctarium to the Bibl. Patrum. *Tom.* 1.

tatem assumi intelligat, et quia inter ipsum et Deum velamen desuper nullum esse debeat, sed revelata facie, secundum apostolum, Domini sui gloriam contempletur. Clericus enim non sicut laici secretorum Dei ignarus esse debet, quia nuntius ejus est ad laicum populum. Unde et usque ad apertionem oculorum et aurium amoventur crines quasi superflui, ut eum ab audiendo et intelligendo verbo Dei occupatio sæcularis, et terrena ambitio non impediat. Extunc vero debet ecclesiæ stipendiis sustentari, et Scriptura Sacra instrui, et in officio ecclesiastico institui: ut cum ratio poposcerit, et ætas, ac scientia, et mores suppetunt, ad ordines sacros assumi possit sub titulo certo, sine quo non sunt ordinandi, ne potius acephali quam clerici efficiantur. Hujus tonsuræ ritus ex veteri Testamento a Nazareis, ut dicitur, sumpsit exordium, quoniam crines diu crescentes, ob vitæ continentiam tandem rasos in ignem sacrificii, consumebant. Sed et in Actibus Apostolorum, Priscillam et Aquilam, atque beatum Paulum, et quosdam alios, idem fecisse legimus, significando in corde et opere pullulantia vitia præcidenda.

Admonitio ad ostiarios, qui primi sunt ordinis.

OSTIARII in veteri Testamento janitores dicebantur. Quorum officium est claves ecclesiæ custodire, et competentibus horis claudere et aperire, et quæ intus sunt custodire, fideles Christianos recipere, excommunicatos vero et infideles excludere, sicut patet partim ex verbis episcopi ordinantis. Hoc officium Christus per se ipsum exercuit et constituit, quando ementes et vendentes in templo, per quos omnes hæretici et infideles figurantur, cum flagello de funiculis ejecit de templo.

Admonitio ad lectores, qui secundi sunt in ordine.

LECTORES a prophetis sumpserunt exordium, qui verbum Dei populo annunciabant sicut Esdras et alii. Ideoque potestatem ab episcopo recipiunt, prophetias et alias lectiones sacri canonis in auribus populi recitare. Unde debent esse sacris literis instructi, ut intelligant quæ legunt, et bene accentuent, et distincte pronuncient, ne intellectum audientibus tollant, pariter et devotionem. Considerare bene habent quid indicative et quid interrogative legant, et ubi media, et ubi finalis sit clausula terminanda. Quia hæc male observata intellectum audientium aut perturbant, aut ridiculum provocant. Vox enim lectoris non tantum auribus sed cordi potius imprimi debet: quia factores verbi, secundum Jacobum, esse debemus, non auditores tantum. Nec oculorum aut aliorum membrorum motu dissoluto spectatores potius quam auditores sibi faciant: vocem tam fractam vel fœmineam æque ut agrestem vel rusticam devitando. Lectores olim præcones vel proclamatores vocabantur. Hoc officium exercuit et instituit Dominus, quando duodenus in medio doctorum et seniorum sedens, librum Isaiæ aperuit, et ibi legit, Spiritus Domini super me, eo quod unxit me, ad evangelizandum pauperibus misit me. Ex quo innuitur quod lectores gratia spirituali clarere debent, qui populo annunciant verbum Dei.

Admonitio ad exorcistas, qui tertii sunt ordinis.

EXORCISTÆ spiritum bonum et mundum intra se habere debent, quia imperium spirituale accipiunt super malos spiritus et immundos, ut eos de cor-

poribus obsessis ejiciant. Habent etiam facere in catechumenis officium apertionis. Hi in ordine et officio ecclesiæ constituti sunt secundum hoc, quod in templo Salamonis dispositi erant primo, sed postea ab Esdra dictinctius ordinati. Hoc officium exercuit et instituit Dominus, quando cum saliva sua tetigit aures et linguam surdi et muti, dicens, Ephphatha, quod est, adaperire; docens nos per hoc spiritualiter aperire aures et ora cordium, ad recte intelligendum et confitendum Christum. Hoc etiam officium exercuit sæpius, sed specialiter expellendo septem dæmonia de Magdalena.

Admonitio ad acolytos, qui in quarto ordine succedunt.

ACOLYTI Græce, ceroferarii dicuntur Latine. Qui dum evangelium legitur, vel sacrificium offertur, vel cæterum ministerium sacrum perficitur, cereos accensos deferunt, non ut hujus aeris tenebras illuminent, sed ut spiritualiter lucis opera proximis ostendant, et errantibus more lucis ducatum præstent. Accipiunt et urceolum vacuum de manu episcopi, quia nondum digni sunt tenere plenum; in signum quod vasa templi tangere quidem possunt, sed nondum perfecti sunt ad sacri ordinis officium ministrandum. Hoc officium se habere testatur Dominus, dicens, 'Ego sum lux mundi. Qui sequitur me non ambulat in tenebris, sed habebit lumen vitæ.'

Admonitio ad subdiaconos, qui quintum locum obtinent.

QUINTO loco, ordo est subdiaconorum, qui apud Græcos hypodiaconi vocantur. Isti sunt qui in

Esdra Nathinæi, id est, in humilitate Deo servientes, appellantur. Ex quorum ordine fuit ille Nathanael, qui in evangelio Dominum confiteri, et ab ipso meruit collaudari, dicente Domino, 'Ecce vir Israelita, in quo dolus non est.' Isti subserviunt Levitis, et vasa corporis et sanguinis Christi ipsis ad altaria offerunt, et iterum referunt. De quibus quidem patribus placuit, ut qui sacra mysteria contractant, legem observent continentiæ, sicut scriptum est, 'Mundamini qui fertis vasa Domini.' Hi in templo Domini oblationes suscipiunt a populis. Ad istorum etiam provisionem pertinet, tantum de oblationibus ponere in altari, quantum sufficere possit populo Dei. Similiter ipsi corporales pallas, et substratoria[2] lavare, et aquam in baptismum vergere debent. Urceum quoque et aquamanilem et manutergium tenere episcopo, et presbytero, et levitis, pro lavandis ante altare manibus, aquam præbere. Hi cum ordinantur sicut sacerdotes et levitæ manus impositionem non accipiunt, sed tantum calicem vacuum, et patenam vacuam, de manu episcopi; de manu vero archidiaconi, urceolum cum aquamanile et manutergium, quibus mundare debent manus sacerdos et levita, tractaturi divina sacramenta. Hoc officio usus est Dominus, quando facta cœna cum discipulis, linteo se præcinxit, et mittens aquam in pelvim, pedes discipulorum lavit, et linteo extersit.

Admonitio ad diaconos, qui sextum locum obtinent.

DIACONORUM ordo sexto sequitur loco, non sine aliquo senarii mysterio. In quo, propter perfec-

[2] "Substratorium, mappa altaris, cui corporale insternitur." *Ducange.*

tionem sui, significatur operum perfectio. Hic ordo in veteri Testamento a tribu Levi habet exordium. Præcepit enim Dominus Moysi; ut post ordinationem Aaron et filiorum ejus, rursus tribus Levi ad divini cultus ministeria ordinaretur et consecraretur Domino, et servirent pro Israel, coram Aaron et filiis ejus, in tabernaculo Dei. Ipsique gestarent arcam et tabernaculum, et omnia vasa ejus, et in circuitu tabernaculi castra constituerent, et in transportando tabernaculo ipsi deponerent. A viginti autem annis et supra, jussi sunt servire in tabernaculo. Quam regulam sancti patres et in novo Testamento constituerunt, quoniam hæc ætas ad portanda onera robusta est, quod illi ordini a Moyse institutum est. Quod et in novo Testamento representatur, cum diaconibus supra sinistrum humerum stola imponitur, et casula in diebus jejunii supra eundem humerum complicatur, quia quicquid laboris et sustinentiæ in hac vita toleramus, tanquam in sinistra portamus, donec in dextra, hoc est, in æternitate, requiem habeamus. Hic ordo in novo Testamento ab Apostolis sumpsit initium, quando, sicut legitur in Actibus Apostolorum, septem viros boni testimonii, plenos Spiritu Sancto, ad hoc elegerunt officium. Et oratione præmissa, manus eis imposuerunt. Et exinde Apostoli, et eorum successores, decreverunt ut in omni matrice ecclesia septem diacones circa aram Christi sublimiori gradu, tanquam columnæ altaris, assisterent, non sine aliquo septenarii mysterio. In quo figuratur, ut septiformis gratiæ spiritu fulgentes, sancti sunt corpore ac spiritu. Hi sunt septem angeli in Apocalypsi tuba canentes. Hi sunt septem candelabra aurea. Hi voces tonitruorum. Ipsi enim clara voce, in modum præconis, admonent cunctos sive ad orandum, sive ad genua flectenda, sive ad psallendum, sive

ad legendum et audiendum verbum Dei. Ipsi evangelizant, ipsi sacramenta Dei dispensant. Sine ipsis sacerdos nomen habet, officium non habet. Nam sicut in sacerdote consecratio, ita in ministro ejus, id est diacono, dispensatio sacramenti est. Ipsis etiam sacerdotibus, propter præsumptionem, non licet calicem Domini in mensa tollere, nisi eis traditus fuerit a diacono. Levitæ hostias super altare ponunt; levitæ operiunt arcam testamenti, quia non omnes videre debent aut possunt alta mysteriorum quæ operiuntur a levitis. Ipsi albis induti vestibus assistunt altari, ut candore vestis munditia vitæ significetur, nitidique ad hostias et immaculati accedant. Tales enim Dominum decet habere ministros, qui nullo carnis corrumpantur contagio, sed perfecta mentis et corporis castitate splendeant. Quales enim diacones ordinandi sint, apostolus plenissime docet scribens ad Timotheum. Nam cum præmisisset de sacerdotum electione, continuo subjunxit, Diacones similiter irreprehensibiles, hoc est, sine crimine, sicut episcopos; pudicos, hoc est, a libidine continentes; non bilingues, scilicet ne perturbent pacem habentes; non multo vino deditos, quia ubi ebrietas, ibi libido et furor dominatur; non turpe lucrum sectantes, id est, non de cœlesti militia lucra terrena sectantes. Post hæc subjecit, Hi autem probentur primum, et sic ministrent nullum crimen habentes. Et hi itaque sicut episcopi ante ordinationem probari debent, et si digni inventi fuerint, sic demum ad sacrum ministerium admitti. His cum ordinantur, solus episcopus manus imponit, quia ad ministerium, non ad sacerdotium, applicantur. Ponitur eis orarium, id est stola, super sinistrum humerum ab episcopo, ut per hoc agnoscant se accepisse jugum Domini, quo omnia ad sinistram, id est præsentem vitam, pertinentia

adversa fortiter tollerent, et divino amore subjiciant. Accipiunt et textum evangeliorum de manu episcopi, per quem intelligant se esse præcones evangelii Christi. Nam sicut lectoribus vetus Testamentum, ita diaconibus novum prædicare præceptum est, præcipue evangelium, quod solis ipsis in ecclesia pronunciare licet. Ad ipsos pertinet assistere sacerdotibus, et ministrare in omnibus quæ aguntur in sacramentis Christi; in baptismo scilicet, et in chrismate, in patena et calice, oblationes etiam inferre et disponere in altari, componere etiam mensam Domini atque vestire, crucem ferre, evangelium prædicare et apostolum. Ad ipsos quoque pertinet officium precum, et recitatio nominum. Ipsi præmovent aures ad Dominum; ipsi hortantur orare; ipsi clamant, et pacem ipsi annunciant. Hoc officio usus est Dominus, quando post cœnam proprio ore et propriis manibus sacramenta confecta dispensavit, et quando apostolos dormitantes excitavit ad orationem, dicens, Vigilate et orate ut non intretis in tentationem.

Admonitio ad sacerdotes, qui septimum locum obtinent.

SEPTIMO loco subsequitur ordo presbyterorum, qui in veteri Testamento a filiis Aaron sumpsit initium. Nam qui tunc sacerdotes vocabantur, hi sunt qui nunc presbyteri, et qui tunc dicebantur principes sacerdotum, nunc episcopi nominantur. Presbyteri autem interpretantur seniores, quia seniores Græci presbyteros vocant. Debent enim presbyteri seniores esse populo Dei, non tantum ætate temporis, quantum prudentia morum, et maturitate bonæ conversationis, sicut scriptum est, Senectus venerabilis est non diu-

turna, neque annorum numero computata. Cani enim sunt sensus hominis, et ætas senectutis vita immaculata. Distat tamen hoc tantum inter pontifices et hujus temporis sacerdotes, quod solum pontificibus addita est clericorum ordinatio, basilicarum dedicatio, sacri chrismatis consecratio, manus impositio, et communis super populum benedictio. In aliis autem sacramentis, sive catechizandi, sive baptizandi, sive missam celebrandi, et consecrandi corporis et sanguinis Christi, sive in ecclesia verbum faciendi, communis est utrisque dispensatio. Summis ergo sacerdotibus supradicta idcirco singulariter reservata sunt; ne eadem prorsus auctoritas potestatis, ab omnibus passim vendicata, inferiores erga suprapositos insolentes redderet, et soluto obedientiæ vinculo, scandalum generaret. Presbyteri successores et vicarii sunt septuaginta discipulorum, qui præcedebant Dominum Jesum in omnem civitatem, et locum quo ipse erat venturus. Ita quippe presbyteri, qui adjutores sunt episcoporum, rudes populos catechizando initiant, baptizando unitati ecclesiæ incorporant, ut in omnibus sacramentis usque ad manus impositionem populo Dei ministrant. Episcopi vero successores sunt apostolorum, qui ex necessitate adjutorium et supplementum sui officii, in tanta multitudine populorum regendorum, ministerium sibi expetunt sacerdotum; sicut Moyses in eremo septuaginta viros elegit prudentes, quorum consilio et auxilio, multitudinem tantam facilius gubernaret. Sive ergo inferioris sive superioris sint ordinis sacerdotes, id est, sive presbyteri, sive episcopi, vicem gerunt summi pontificis, dum populos delinquentes ad pœnitentiam vocant, et orationum suarum medicamento sanant, unde dicit apostolus, Deus erat in Christo mundum reconcilians sibi, et posuit in nobis verbum reconciliationis. Obsecramus

ergo pro Christo, reconciliamini Deo. In hoc igitur vice mediatoris funguntur sacerdotes, quod Deum pro peccatis populi exorant, et pœnitentes absolvendo Deo reconciliant. Quapropter convenit ut tanquam boni mediatores inter homines et Deum, et præcepta Dei ad populum deferant, veritatem prædicando, et preces populi Deo offerant, pro peccatoribus intercedendo. Mediator autem, ut ait apostolus, unius non est, quia discordes reconciliare non potest, qui utrumque societatis pace et amicitiæ vinculo consors non est. Et idcirco sacerdotes cum Deo pacem habere, per eminentiam sanctitatis, et cum proximis concordiam servare debent, per affectum compassionis. Quales ergo debeant esse presbyteri, apostolus scribens ad Titum insinuat, dicens, Hujus rei gratia reliqui te Crete, ut constituas per civitates presbyteros, quemadmodum tibi disposui. Siquis sine crimine est, unius uxoris virum, habentem filios fideles, non in accusatione luxuriæ, aut non subditus. Oportet enim episcopum sine crimine esse. Qua sententia ostendit etiam presbyteros sub episcoporum nomine taxari. Unde ad Timotheum de ordinatione episcopi et diaconi scribit, de presbyteris tacens, quos sub nomine episcoporum intelligendos relinquit. Quapropter tales etiam in ecclesia presbyteros constituendos esse sicut episcopos, et apostolus asserit, et canones apostolicam auctoritatem secuti testantur. Presbyteri cum ordinantur, episcopo eos benedicente, et manus super capita eorum tenente, omnes presbyteri qui præsentes sunt, manus juxta manus episcopi, super capita eorum levant, et Spiritum Sanctum super eos qui ordinantur, invocant. Unguntur presbyteris manus sicut episcopis, ut cognoscant se hoc sacramento gratiam consecrandi accipere, et opera misericordiæ pro viribus exercere debere erga omnes.

Unctio capitis specialiter ad episcopum pertinet, ut intelligat se vicarium esse illius de quo scriptum est, Unxit te Deus, Deus tuus oleo lætitiæ. Hi, post invocationem Spiritus Sancti, stolam super utrumque humerum accipiunt, quæ in modum sustentaculorum dextrum latus munit et sinistrum, ut ex hoc intelligant, se per hoc armis justitiæ a dextris et a sinistris esse munitos, ut eos nec adversa frangant nec prospera extollant. Accipiunt et calicem cum vino, et patenam cum hostiis, de manu episcopi, quatenus his instrumentis potestatem se accepisse agnoscant placabiles Deo hostias offerendi. Ad ipsos namque pertinet, sacramentum corporis et sanguinis Domini in altare Dei conficere, orationes dicere, et benedicere dona Dei. Hoc officio usus est Dominus noster Jesus Christus quando post cœnam, panem et vinum in corpus suum et sanguinem suum commutavit, et ut in memoriam suæ passionis idem facerent discipulos monens instituit. Hoc quoque excellenter officium implens exhibuit, quando ipse sacerdos et hostia se ipsum Deo Patri in ara crucis, propter peccata generis humani, obtulit, et per proprium sanguinem sancta æterna ingrediens, cœlestia et terrena pacificavit. In quo apparet quanta sit excellentia sacerdotalis officii, per quod quotidie in altare passio Christi celebratur, et reus quisque a peccatis conversus Deo reconciliatur. Quibus omnibus de sacerdotali officio breviter pertractatis, admonendi sunt Christi sacerdotes, quatenus sicut excellunt ordinis dignitate, sic excellant vitæ sanctitate, ut plebs eis commissa atque eorum disciplinis edocta, gratanter eis obediat, et eorum imitatione de die in diem proficiat, et ad præmia perveniat sempiterna.

Decretum de electo Episcopo.

Consecratio electi in Episcopum.

Decretum de electo Episcopo.

DECRETUM *quod clerus et populus firmare debet de electo episcopo.*[1]

Venerando sancto Cantuariensis ecclesiæ metropolitano *N.* clerus et populus ecclesiæ *N.* debitam subjectionem: vestræ paternitati

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[1] Many examples of forms of this "decretum" are to be found in the historians and ritualists of the middle ages. At the end of the Salisbury pontifical, that is, the manuscript from which our text is taken, there occurs the following short office; which I insert here, as it doubtless is to be referred to the occasion of an election by the clergy of a new bishop.

"*Confirmatio electi.*

"*Cantato* Te Deum, *dicatur,* Pater noster.

"*Episcopus dicat:* Et ne nos.

"Salvum fac servum tuum.

"Dominus custodiat introitum ejus, et exitum ejus.

"Dominus custodiat eum ab omni malo.

"Mittat ei Dominus auxilium de sancto.

"Exsurge, Domine, adjuva nos.

"Dominus vobiscum. Et cum. Oremus.

"Concede, quæsumus, omnipotens Deus, ut famulum tuum, quem ad regimen animarum eligimus, gratiæ tuæ dono prosequaris, ut, te largiente, cum ipsa tibi nostra electione placeamus. Per Christum Dominum nostrum."

Immediately preceding the "decretum," there is a short form, which I subjoin.

"*Quæ episcopus, in consecratione sua, profitetur se observaturum.*

"Omnem prudentiam, quantum natura sua capax est, divinæ scripturæ sensibus accommodare. Ea, quæ ex divinis scripturis intelligit, plebi cui ordinatus est verbo docere et exemplo. Traditiones orthodoxorum patrum, et decretales ac constitutiones sedis apostolicæ, reverenter suscipere, docere, et servare. Beato Petro apostolo, ejusque vicariis summis pontificibus, vel eorum archiepiscopis, fidem et subjectionem per omnia exhibere. Castitatem et sobrietatem, cum Dei auxilio, custodire et docere. Mores ab omni malo temperare, et quantum pos-

est cognitum, quantum temporis est ex quo accidentibus variis eventibus ecclesia *N.* suo sit viduata pastore ac destituta rectore. Quod, non solum ad nostrum, verum et ad vestrum ac omnis hujus diœceseos detrimentum pertinere dignoscitur; cum totius provinciæ solicitudinem metropolitano constet esse commissam. Propterea elegimus illius nostræ ecclesiæ presbyterum *N.* nobis sufficientissime cognitum, natalibus et moribus nobilem, apostolica et ecclesiastica disciplina imbutum, fide catholicum, natura prudentem, docibilem, patientem, moribus temperatum, vita castum, sobrium, humilem, affabilem, misericordem, literatum, in lege Dei instructum, in scripturarum sensibus cautum, in dogmatibus ecclesiasticis exercitatum, et secundum scripturarum tramitem traditionemque orthodoxorum, et canonum ac decretorum sedis apostolicæ præsulum constitutiones, sano sensu ecclesiasticas regulas intelligentem, sanoque sermone docentem atque servantem, amplectentem eum qui secundum doctrinam est fidelem sermonem, et cum modestia corripientem eos qui resistunt, et qui sanæ doctrinæ adversantur, eis resistere et redarguere prævalentem, hospitalem, modestum, suæ domui bene præpositum, non neophytum, habentem testimonium bonum in gradibus singulis, secundum traditionem ecclesiasticam ministrantem ad omne opus bonum, et ad satisfactionem omni poscenti rationem de ea quæ in illo est spe paratum: quem nobis quan-

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sibile est, Domino auxiliante, ad omne bonum commutare. Semper in divinis negotiis mancipari, et a terrenis negotiis et lucris turpibus alienari, quantum humana fragilitas consenserit posse: humilitatem et patientiam custodire in seipso, et alios idem docere. Pauperibus et peregrinis omnibusque indigentibus, propter nomen Domini, esse affabilis et misericors."

tocius petimus ordinari pontificem, quatenus, auctore Domino, regulariter nobis præesse valeat et prodesse, et nos sub ejus regimine salubriter militare possimus, quia integritas præsidentium salus est subditorum; et ubi est incolumitas obedientiæ, ibi sana est forma doctrinæ. Ut autem omnium nostrum vota in hanc electionem convenire noscatis, huic decreto canonico, promptissima voluntate, singuli manibus propriis roborantes subscripsimus.

Consecratio electi in Episcopum.

PROVIDEAT electus cum suis, quod mane diei dominicæ, parata sint et in promptu omnia sibi necessaria in consecratione, videlicet, caligæ, sandalia, amictus, alba, cingulum, stola, manipulus, tunicella, dalmatica, planeta, et pluviale albi coloris, chirothecæ, annulus pontificalis, et alius annulus parvus, mitra, baculus pastoralis, duo bacilia, tobalia pro manibus tergendis, tobalia ad ponendum coram consecratore, tobalia et pecten ad pectinandum,[1] *micæ panis ad tergendum manus et caput, duo brachia telæ de cortina*[2] *ad circumligandum caput in unctione, duo magni panes involuti duobus tobaliis, duæ magnæ phialæ plenæ vino, et duo magna torticia ad offerendum, libri missalis et pontificalis, faldistorium et*

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[1] Ducange says: "*Pecten*, inter ministeria sacra recensetur, quo scilicet sacerdotes ac clerici antequam in ecclesiam procederent, crines pecterent." And he cites several examples, proving that a comb was among the ordinary furniture of chapels. In the earlier pontificals there is no express mention of it, although it is clear that in Durand's time, the use of it was general; *Rationale, lib.* 4. *cap.* 3: and Ducange quotes a will of a bishop in the 10th century, who, among other effects, specifies, "Pectinem eburneam unam."

So in the old inventories we find them mentioned; thus, in that of S. Paul's, A. D. 1295: "Tres pectines eburnei, spissi et magni, et tres tenues et usuales de ebore. Item, unum pecten eburneum pulchrum. Item, duo pectines eburnei sufficientes." *Dugdale. S. Paul's, p.* 206.

[2] "Brachium, mensuræ species, cubitus." "Cortina, panni vel serici species, sic dicta, ut pallium, pro pallii materia." *Ducange. Glossarium.*

tapetum, quissini et bassini. Sacerdotes in superpelliciis, qui serviant electo de libro.

Incipit[3] *consecratio electi in episcopum, quæ est agenda die dominica, et non in alia festivitate,*[4] *antequam missa celebretur.*[5]

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[3] After the "Decretum," the Winchester and Bangor MSS. pass on to the order of consecration, omitting the rubric in the text, as to the necessaries to be provided. The first rubric of those books is as follows:

"*Incipit examinatio ordinandi episcopi, quæ est agenda die dominica, antequam missa celebretur.*" Pontif. Winton.

"*Incipit examinatio ordinandi episcopi, quæ est agenda die dominica, antequam celebretur.* [*sic.*] *Ipse electus sacerdotalibus vestibus induatur præter casulam, et pro casula induatur capa. Et sic comprovinciales episcopi deducant eum per manus coram metropolitano examinandum: ipso metropolitano sedente in loco examinationis, dorso verso ad majus altare. Sedilia vero episcoporum coram metropolitano in modum coronæ, a dextris et a sinistris electi. Tunc dicat metropolitanus:*

"Antiqua sanctorum, *etc.*" Pontif. Bangor.

As before stated, the Exeter MS. does not contain the "decretum," nor has it the rubric regarding the necessary preparations: its first rubric, after the commencement, is similar to that of the Bangor Use: but it begins thus:

"*Consecratio episcoporum semper agenda est die dominica, et examinatio et professio eorum ante missarum solemnia. Electus vero sacerdotalibus, etc.*" ut supra.

[4] This limitation of the old English rubric, was in strict accordance with the custom of preceding ages. *Thomassin* says: "Concilium Tolet. IV. C. 18. præcipit ut metropolitanus in civitate metropolitana ordinetur: — dies autem dominica tantum ab eodem concilio præscribitur.——Abdicationis pænam videtur Leo M. intentare Ep. 89. c. 3. si quo alio tempore ordinentur episcopi, præterquam vesperascente sabbato, aut dilucescente dom. die." *De benef. Part.* 2. *lib.* 2. c. xij. (*Tom.* 5. *p.* 63.) So, in later years, this was a rule generally agreed upon. Alcuin, in stating the fact, explains the reason. "Episcopi vero consecratio, qui est vicarius apostolorum, immo et Christi, fit in Dominica, quia in eodem die per donum Spiritus Sancti dignatus est illustrare corda apostolorum." *De div. off.* Hittorpius. *p.* 69.

Ipse vero electus sacerdotalibus vestibus induatur, præter casulam, et pro casula induatur capa, et sic duo

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And Hugo S. Victor: "Presbyteri et diaconi sabbato consecrandi episcopo præsentantur; benedictiones vero pontificum diebus tantum dominicis celebrandas esse, sacri canones sanxerunt." *De sacr. lib.* 2. ij. 20.

"But the rubric now of the Roman pontifical is this: "*Statuta die consecrationis, quæ debet esse dominica, vel natalitium apostolorum, vel etiam festiva, si summus pontifex hoc specialiter indulserit.*"

[5] Mabillon has printed in his Analecta, from a manuscript of the 11th century, a "ritus ordinandi episcopi," which was observed anciently in the church of Rouen. On account not only of this Order throwing much light on many of the particulars which will follow in the text, but of the frequent intercourse in that age kept between the churches of Normandy and England, I shall transcribe the first rubric of that MS.

"In die ordinationis episcopi manissime pulsetur, et cantetur prima, postquam eatur ad capitulum; ibique a decano, archidiacono, cantore et cancellario ordinentur qui debent præcedere ministri, sicut in majoribus mos est festivitatibus: hoc est, duo acolythi cum thuribulis, duo subdiaconi cum crucibus, septem acolythi cum candelabris et cereis, septem subdiaconi cum evangeliorum libris, septem diaconi cum suis reliquiis, duodecim presbyteri induti planetis, acolythus indutus podere cum vasculo aureo chrismatis.

"Tertia pulsetur temporaneè, et interim præparet se domnus archiepiscopus, sandaliis et cæteris omnibus usque ad dalmaticam. Tunc indutus cappa, et tenens baculum pastoralem in manu, procedit e sacrario. Similiter omnes episcopi exeant induti. Ipse autem electus necdum induatur sandaliis, sed tantum alba, et stola, et cappa; nec ferat baculum, sed ponatur super altare cum anulo, usque dum consecratus accipiat de manu archiepiscopi.

"Venientes autem in ecclesia ponantur sedes ita. Domnus metropolitanus sedebit verso dorso ad altare. Sedilia vero cæterorum episcoporum ponantur ante oculos metropolitani. Sedes autem ipsius electi ponatur in medio, non tamen ad majus altare. Comprovinciales autem episcopi offerant electum domno metropolitano his verbis:

"'Reverende pater, postulat etc.'" *Vetera Analecta. p.* 228.

The "poderis" in the above extract was a vestment, of much the same kind as the "camisia;" (see above, p. 19. note 29.) Ducange in his glossary cites *Euche-*

comprovinciales episcopi deducant eum per manus coram metropolitano examinandum, ipso metropolitano sedente in loco examinationis, dorso verso ad majus altare, sedilia vero episcoporum coram metropolitano, in modum coronæ, a dextris et a sinistris electi. Et dum ista examinatio dicitur vel legitur, archiepiscopus et cæteri episcopi consecrantes mitras debent habere in capite, sed consecrandus nequaquam. Tunc dicat metropolitanus:

Antiqua sanctorum patrum institutio docet et præcipit,[6] ut is qui ad ordinem episcopatus eligitur, antea

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rius Lugdunensis: "Poderis, sacerdotalis linea corpori penitus adstricta, eademque talaris, unde et poderis appellata, hæc et subucula dicitur." Compare also *Ivo Carnotensis*, de reb. eccles. *Serm.* 3. and *Innocent III.* de Myst. Missæ. *Cap.* 10. 16.

The "poderis" can only in a very wide and improper sense be explained to be a sacerdotal vestment, as it was common to the inferior orders: and in fact, there seems to be but little doubt that it was what was afterwards called the albe: and that its more ancient name lingered only in remote countries. Thus Alcuin (*de div. off.*) expressly says; "Poderis vulgo alba dicta, perseverantiam significat." And so Durand; "Quia vero usque ad talos descendit, perseverentiam designat." *Rationale div. off. Lib.* 3. *Cap.* 3.

[6] The whole of this part of the Office is now inserted into the pontifical of the Church of Rome: but as Martene has observed, it was anciently peculiar to the churches of France: to which we may add, of England also. It was probably introduced into this country about the eleventh century, as we do not find it in the earlier pontificals of Egbert and Dunstan: nor before that time, I may remark, is it found in the Office of the French Church; so that there is no evidence by which we may conjecture to which first it was added.

The principle of such an examination, before consecration, was however both primitive and universal: grounded upon the admonitions of S. Paul to Timothy. In after years, it was made the especial subject of conciliar decrees: thus, the first canon of the fourth council of Carthage in the year 398, is directed to this point. "Qui episcopus ordinandus est, antea examinetur, si natura sit

diligentissime examinetur cum omni caritate, de fide Sanctæ Trinitatis, et interrogetur de diversis causis vel moribus, quæ huic regimini congruunt, et necessaria sunt retineri, secundum apostoli dictum, manus cito nemini imposueris; et ut etiam is qui ordinandus

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prudens, si docibilis, si moribus temperatus, si vita castus, si sobrius, si semper suis negotiis cavens, si humilis, si affabilis, misericors, si literatus, si in lege Domini instructus, si in scripturarum sensibus cautus, si in dogmatibus ecclesiasticis exercitatus: et ante omnia, si fidei documenta verbis simplicibus asserat: id est Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum, *etc.*" And then follows an exact examination, grounded on the Apostles' creed. Again, in the 8th century, the second Nicene council, in its second canon, which Martene appeals to, ordered, "— decernimus quemlibet, qui ad episcopalem gradum est provehendus, — a metropolitano bene examinari, an ad sacros canones diligenter, ac cum perscrutatione, prompto sit animo, et sacrum etiam evangelium, et librum divini apostoli, omnemque divinam Scripturam, et in divinis præceptis versari, et populum suum docere." *Mansi. Tom.* xiij. *col.* 748.

But, remembering the ill reception which the decrees of this council met with in the West, I would rather attribute the insertion of this examination to canons of other synods in Gaul or Spain: thus, we have one, to name no more, of the eleventh council of Toledo, in the preceding century, A. D. 675. "Placuit huic sancto concilio, ut unusquisque qui ad ecclesiasticos gradus est accessurus, non ante honoris consecrationem accipiat, quam placiti sui innodatione promittat, ut fidem catholicam sincera cordis devotione custodiens, juste et pie vivere debeat." *Ibid. Tom.* xi. *col.* 143.

It is very probable that the particular interrogations regarding the change of the Bread and Wine in the Eucharist, were in consequence of the teaching of Berengarius, and inserted into the English pontificals by the influence of Archbishop Lanfranc, his great opponent. In which case, the Winchester MS. is possibly as early as any manuscript in which they are to be found: being nearly contemporary with that archbishop. The student will observe presently, that those particular questions are not in the pontificals of Bangor and Exeter. With respect to the first, this is very remarkable, and much more so with regard to the other, a manuscript of the latter part of the 14th century, in the time of Bishop Lacy.

est antea erudiatur, qualiter sub hoc regimine constitutum oporteat conversari in ecclesia Dei, et ut irreprehensibiles sint etiam, qui ei manus ordinationis imponunt.[7] Eadem itaque auctoritate, et præcepto, interrogamus te, dilectissime frater, caritate sincera, si omnem prudentiam tuam, quantum tua capax est natura, divinæ Scripturæ sensibus accommodare volueris?

Resp.[8] Ita volo, ex toto corde, in omnibus obedire et consentire.

Interrogatio. Vis ea quæ ex divinis Scripturis intelligis, plebem cui ordinandus es, et verbis docere et exemplis?

Resp. Volo.[9]

Interrogatio. Vis traditiones[10] orthodoxorum patrum, ac decretales sanctæ apostolicæ sedis constitutiones, veneranter suscipere, docere, atque servare?[11]

Resp. Volo.

Interrogatio. Vis[12] sanctæ Cantuariensi ecclesiæ[13]

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7 "*Prima interrogatio.*" Rubr. pontif. Bangor.

8 " *Respondeat.*" Winton. " *Responsio.*" Bangor. " *Respondet electus.*" Exon.

9 In the margin of the pontifical, there has been inserted, in a hand of the time of Henry VIII. or Edward VI., and afterwards crossed with a pen, the following interrogation:

" Vis regi nostro *N.* cui a Deo data est suprema potestas sub Christo ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, fidem, subjectionem, et obedientiam, exhibere? Volo."

After the word Anglicanæ, there is interlined in red ink, by a contemporary hand, "et Hiberniæ."

10 " ordinationes." *Exon.*

11 This and the next interrogation are differently arranged in the Winchester MS.: both being placed before the last question, " Vis pauperibus."

12 The Exeter pontifical has a remarkable addition in this place: " Vis beato Petro apostolo, cui a Deo data est potestas ligandi atque solvendi, ejusque vicariis, Romanis pontificibus, atque sanctæ ecclesiæ Cantuariensi, *etc.*"

13 " sanctæ Dorobernensi ecclesiæ." *Pontif. Winton.* i: e: Cantuariensi. I extract the whole in-

et mihi, meisque successoribus subjectionem, et obedientiam per omnia exhibere, secundum canonicam auctoritatem, et decreta sanctorum pontificum?

Resp. Volo.

Tunc dicat pontifex:

Profitere.[14]

Hic legat professionem, ut patet per bullam si habeatur, ac super eandem bullam subscribat crucem manu propria; sin autem, exigetur professio modo subscripto:

In Dei nomine. Amen. Ego .*N.* talis ecclesiæ electus, et a te, reverende pater, nomine *N.* Cantuariensis archiepiscope, totius Angliæ primas, consecrandus antistes, tibi et sanctæ Cantuariensi ecclesiæ metropoliticæ, tuisque successoribus in dicta ecclesia Cantuariensi canonice substituendis, debitam et canonicam obedientiam, reverentiam, et subjectionem, me per omnia exhibiturum profiteor et promitto, secundum decreta Romanorum pontificum tuorumque jurium,[15] et

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terrogation from that early MS.

"Vis sanctæ Dorobernensi ecclesiæ fidem et subjectionem per omnia exhibere?"

The Bangor Use agrees with the text: in the Exeter pontifical the question runs:

"— Cantuariensi, mihique ministro et successoribus meis, fidem, subjectionem, et obedientiam, secundum canonicam auctoritatem exhibere?"

[14] "*Hic erigatur professio.*" Winton.

"*Resp.* Volo. Profitere." Bangor.

"Volo. Profitere. *Hic profiteatur.*" Exon.

All three pontificals omit the form in which the profession is to be made, passing on immediately to the next interrogation: "Vis mores, *etc.*"

The reader should consult Wilkins, *Concilia*, for the forms of some later oaths, about the period of the reformation: for example; in 1540, *Tom.* 3. *p.* 855:—in 1544. *p.* 870.—in 1550. *Tom.* 4. *p.* 67. And again, for several early examples, a collection printed by Hearne, at the end of the Textus Roffensis, *p.* 245. *etc.* and others, in the Anglia Sacra. *tom.* 1. *p.* 78.

[15] This sentence "secundum

prædictæ sanctæ Cantuariensis ecclesiæ adjutor ero ad defendendum, retinendum, et conservandum, salvo ordine meo: sic me Deus adjuvet, et sancta Dei evangelica. Et prædicta omnia subscribendo propria manu confirmo.

Deinde propria manu subscribat, faciendo crucem.

Interrogatio. Vis mores tuos ab omni malo temperare, et quantum poteris, Domino adjuvante, ad omne bonum commutare?

Resp. Volo.

Interrogatio. Vis castitatem et sobrietatem, cum Dei auxilio, custodire, et docere?

Resp. Volo.

Interrogatio. Vis semper esse divinis negotiis mancipatus, et a terrenis negotiis vel lucris turpibus esse alienus, quantum te humana fragilitas concesserit posse?

Resp. Volo.

Interrogatio. Vis humilitatem, et patientiam, in temetipso custodire, et alios similiter docere?

Resp. Volo.

Interrogatio. Pauperibus et peregrinis, omnibusque indigentibus vis esse, propter nomen Domini, affabilis et misericors?

Resp. Volo.

Tunc dicat ei pontifex:

Hæc omnia et cætera bona tribuat tibi Dominus, et custodiat te, atque corroboret, in omni bonitate.[16]

Respondeant omnes astantes: Amen.

Interrogatio. Credis, secundum intelligentiam et

——jurium" has been erased with a pen, and the following inserted in the margin. "Secundum jura et statuta hujus regni."

[16] "in omni bono." *Winton.*

capacitatem sensus tui, Sanctam Trinitatem, Patrem, et Filium, et Spiritum Sanctum, unum Deum omnipotentem, totamque in Trinitate Deitatem, coessentialem et consubstantialem, coæternam et coomnipotentem, unius voluntatis, potestatis, et majestatis, creatorem omnium creaturarum, a quo omnia, per quem omnia, in quo omnia, quæ sunt in cœlo et in terra, visibilia et invisibilia, corporalia et spiritualia?

Resp. Assentio, et ita credo.

Interrogatio. Credis ipsum Filium Dei, Verbum Dei, æternaliter natum de Patre, consubstantialem, coomnipotentem, et coæqualem per omnia Patri in divinitate, temporaliter natum de Spiritu Sancto et Maria semper virgine, cum anima rationali, duas habentem nativitates, unam ex Patre æternam, alteram ex matre temporalem, Deum verum et hominem verum, proprium in utraque natura atque perfectum, non adoptivum neque phantasticum, unicum et unum Filium Dei in duabus naturis, sed in unius personæ singularitate, impassibilem et immortalem in divinitate, sed in humanitate, pro nobis et pro salute nostra, passum vera carnis passione, et sepultum, ac die tertia resurgentem a mortuis, vera carnis resurrectione, die quadragesimo post resurrectionem, cum carne qua resurrexit et anima, ascendisse in cœlum, sedere ad dexteram Dei Patris, inde venturum judicare vivos et mortuos, et redditurum unicuique secundum opera sua, sive bona fuerint sive mala?

Resp. Assentio, et per omnia credo.

Interrogatio. Credis etiam Spiritum Sanctum, plenum, atque perfectum, verumque Deum, a Patre Filioque procedentem, coæqualem et coessentialem, coomnipotentem et coæternum per omnia Patri et Filio?

Resp. Credo.

Interrogatio. Credis hanc Sanctam Trinitatem non tres Deos sed unum Deum omnipotentem, æternum, invisibilem, et incommutabilem?

Resp. Credo.

Interrogatio. Credis sanctam, catholicam, et apostolicam, unam esse veram Ecclesiam, in qua unum datur baptisma, et vera remissio omnium peccatorum?[17]

Resp. Credo.

Interrogatio.[18] Credis panem qui in mensa dominica ponitur, panem tantummodo esse ante consecrationem: sed in ipsa consecratione, ineffabili potentia Divinitatis, converti naturam et substantiam panis, in naturam et substantiam carnis Christi, carnis vero nullius alterius, sed illius quæ concepta est de Spiritu Sancto, et nata ex Maria virgine?

Resp. Credo.

Interrogatio. Similiter vinum quod aquæ mixtum in calice sanctificandum proponitur, vere et essentialiter converti in sanguinem, qui per lanceam militis de Domini lateris vulnere emanavit?

Resp. Credo.

Interrogatio. Anathematizas omnem hæresim, ex-

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[17] This question is still retained in the Roman pontifical: but it is not easy to discover how it can be reconciled with the recognition by the Church of Rome of heretical baptism, even though administered by Jews or infidels, provided that it be accompanied with the proper matter and the proper form. That pontifical certainly has added the word "verum:" "in qua unum datur *verum* baptisma:" but this does not altogether relieve the difficulty.

[18] This and the next interrogation are in the Winchester pontifical, but are omitted by the Bangor and Exeter MSS.: the last of which omits also the question "Anathematizas omnem hæresim."

tollentem se adversus hanc sanctam ecclesiam catholicam?

Resp. Anathematizo.

Interrogatio. Credis etiam veram resurrectionem ejusdem carnis quam nunc gestas, et vitam æternam?

Resp. Credo.

Interrogatio. Credis etiam novi et veteris Testamenti, legis, et prophetarum, et apostolorum, unum esse auctorem Deum ac Dominum omnipotentem?

Resp. Credo.

Et dicat ei:

Hæc tibi fides augeatur a Domino, ad veram et æternam beatitudinem, dilectissime frater in Christo.

Et respondeant omnes: Amen.[19]

Ita igitur examinatus et bene instructus,[20] *cum con-*

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[19] A marginal note is introduced here: viz.

"Hic petatur a consecrante bulla juramenti, et consecrandus eam legat, et secundum tenorem ejusdem præstet domino papæ suum juramentum." This note is in a contemporary hand and character of writing, and possibly may have been an accidental omission: but I have not thought it right to insert it in the text.

[20] This rubric is to the same effect, and in nearly the same words, in both the Winchester and Bangor MSS. The first proceeds at the end of it;

"*Qualiter ordinetur episcopus. Pontifex cum ordinatur, primo progreditur domnus metropolitanus cum cuncto clero ad ecclesiam: ubi ipsam vult fieri ordinationem. Veniens autem ante altare mox ut voluerit indicat primo cantorum, et statim cantor levat antiphonam ad introitum:* Benedixit te hodie Deus. *Ps.* Deus Deorum. *Cumque finierint introitum non dicant,* Kyrieleison: *sed domnus metropolitanus incipiat:* Gloria in excelsis Deo. *Hoc finito dicat:* Pax vobis. *Postea orationem hanc:* Adesto supplicationibus, *etc.*"

The Bangor pontifical merely adds: "*Deinde cantor incipiat antiphonam ad introitum et cætera ex more: sequitur oratio. Post orationem missæ immediate:* Adesto, *etc.*"

The Exeter pontifical proceeds,

sensu clericorum et laicorum ac conventu totius provinciæ episcoporum, maximeque metropolitani auctoritate aut præsentia, in nomine Domini ordinetur.[21]

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after the benediction, "Hæc tibi fides," in this manner:

"*Expleto namque scrutinio, electus osculetur reverenter manum consecratoris, juxta ritum Romanæ ecclesiæ: tunc consecrator juxta altare faciat confessionem more solito, electo juxta ipsum manente, et omnes episcopi ante sedes suas stantes faciant similiter cum clericis suis. Finito confessione, consecrator ascendat ad altare. Cantore inchoante introitum missæ, electus ducatur ad locum suum: acolyti induant illum sandalia, tunicam, dalmaticam, et casulam; postquam consecrator dixerit primam collectam officii missæ, dicat sub uno* Per Dominum, *collectam pro electo.* Adesto, *etc.*"

[21] All that has preceded, being, as it were, a preparation, the service itself of Consecration begins here. Thus the first rubric of the very ancient pontifical of Archbishop Egbert, omitting also the charge "oportet *etc.*" is as follows:

"*Episcopus cum ordinatur, duo episcopi ponunt et teneant evangeliorum librum super cervicem ejus, et unus fundat super eum benedictionem: et postea istas tres orationes omnes episcopi, qui adsunt, recitare debent: reliqui vero manus suas super caput ejus tangant.* Oremus, dilectissimi nobis, huic viro, *etc.*"

Nor was it necessary that this previous examination should immediately precede, that is, upon the same day, the rite of consecration; nor that both should be in the same place. For the primitive practice was, that a bishop should be consecrated in his own cathedral: and without citing many authorities, to be found in most writers on this subject, I shall extract first a passage from S. Cyprian. "Propter quod diligenter de traditione divina, et apostolica observatione, servandum est et tenendum quod apud nos quoque et fere per provincias universas tenetur, ut ad ordinationes rite celebrandas ad eam plebem cui præpositus ordinatur, episcopi ejusdem provinciæ proximi quique conveniant, et episcopus deligatur plebe præsente." *Opera. p.* 119. *Epist.* lxviij. And I add the following from Thomassin: "Jubet Aurelianense IV. conc. C. 5. ut electus episcopus propria in civitate et ecclesia ordinetur: si id quidem non liceat per temporis importunitatem, ut in provincia saltem, et ab episcopis ordinetur provinciæ, præsente, v. authoritatem saltem suam accommodante metropolitano." *De benef. Part.* ij. *lib.* 2. *cap.* xviij. (*tom.* 5. *p.* 93.)

Deinde cantor incipiat officium missæ de die.

Hæc sequens oratio dicatur cum oratione de die, et dicantur sub uno per Dominum.

Oratio.

Adesto supplicationibus nostris, omnipotens Deus, ut quod nostræ humilitatis gerendum est ministerio, tuæ virtutis impleatur effectu. Per Dominum. *Et cætera ex more cantentur usque ad repetitionem* Alleluia, *vel usque ad ultimum versum tractus vel sequentiæ. Interim autem,*[22] *dum hæc fiunt, innuat dominus metropolitanus archidiacono, et ipse descendens cum acolytis et subdiaconis vadat extra chorum, ubi expectat qui ordi-*

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[22] The Winchester pontifical thus proceeds:

"*Interim autem innuit domnus metropolitanus archidiacono: et ipse descendens vadit extra chorum, ubi expectat qui ordinandus est: et accipiens vestimentum induat eum. Et finito gradali, domnus metropolitanus ascendit ad altare. Et archidiaconus adducit electum ad altare, ubi domnus metropolitanus stat. Et inclinat se idem electus pontifex ad terram, et dicit domnus metropolitanus:*

"Clerus et plebs de civitate illa, cum adjacentibus parochiis suis, rogat sibi episcopum consecrari.

"Nunc autem a piissimo domino nostro Anglorum rege consentiente, clero et populo electus est venerabilis frater noster .*N.* in hoc opus.

"Oremus itaque pro eo, ut Deus et Dominus noster Jesus Christus tribuat ei cathedram episcopalem ad regendam ecclesiam suam, et plebem universam.

"*Et tunc schola incipiat litaniam; et inter alia dicat:*

"Ut fratrem nostrum .*N.* electum pontificem, in vera religione conservare digneris: Te rogamus, audi nos.

"*Episcopi vero interim prosternant se super stramenta coram altare, et ordinandus humilius post pontifices usque dum dicatur*, Agnus Dei. *Finita autem litania, elevet eum domnus metropolitanus incipiens hymnum* Veni Creator. *Quo cantato, ponat caput electi episcopi super altare. Et duo alii episcopi ponant et teneant evangelium super verticem ejus. Reliqui vero omnes qui adsunt episcopi manus super caput ejus ponant. Et domnus metropolitanus in-*

nandus est, et accipiens vestimenta induet eum cum sandaliis, alba, stola, manipulo, tunica, dalmatica, et casula, sine mitra, et absque baculo vel annulo. Et finito gradale, dominus archiepiscopus ascendat ad altare, et duo episcopi, capis induti, deducant electum superius ante altare ubi dominus archiepiscopus sedet, et ille sedendo cum mitra dicit:

Episcopum oportet judicare, interpretari, consecrare, confirmare, ordinare, offerre, et baptizare.

Deinde, deposita mitra, convertet se archiepiscopus ad circumstantes, et dicat hanc exhortationem:

Oremus, dilectissimi nobis, ut huic viro ad utilitatem ecclesiæ provehendo, benignitas omnipotentis Dei gratiæ suæ tribuat largitatem. Per Dominum.

Et statim a duobus episcopis incipiatur:

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fundens benedictionem super eum dicat lenta voce:

"Oremus, dilectissimi nobis, *etc.*

"Oremus. *Et diaconus:* Flectamus genua. Levate.

"Propitiare, Domine, supplicationibus. *etc.*"

In the Bangor pontifical we have:

"*Interim dum hæc fiunt, egrediatur archidiaconus cum acolytis et subdiaconis: et induat ipsum electum dalmaticam planetam: et duo episcopi casulis induti deducant eum superius ante altare. Et convertens se archiepiscopus ad circumstantes, dicat exhortationem:*

"Oremus, dilectissimi nobis, *etc.*"

In the Exeter MS. it is as follows; after the collect "Adesto:"

"*Et cætera omnia cantentur usque ad repetitionem alleluia, vel ad ultimum versum tractus: tunc sedente episcopo deducant electum ante altare coram consecratore, et dicat consecrator electo:*

"Episcopum oportet, *etc.*

"*Et statim incipiatur litania, et interim tam consecrator quam electus accumbant versus altare, ita quod electus maneat a sinistris consecratoris, postquam dictum fuerit,* Ut obsequium servitutis nostræ. *Tunc surgat consecrator, et ad consecrandum se vertens, baculum pastoralem in manu sinistra tenens, dicat primo:*

"Ut hunc præsentem electum, *etc.*"

Kyrie eleison.

Cum litania; et prosternat se ordinator simul cum electo et cæteris episcopis ante altare super faldistoria; episcopus electus desuper stramenta[23] *ad basim altaris; et dicatur litania sicut in ordinibus, et cum ventum fuerit ad versum qui pro domino episcopo cantatur, surgat consecrator, et dicat conversus ad electum sic:*

Ut hunc electum bene✠dicere digneris.

Resp. Te rogamus.

Ut hunc electum bene✠dicere, et sancti✠ficare digneris.

Resp. Te rogamus.

Ut hunc electum bene✠dicere, sancti✠ficare, et conse✠crare digneris.

Resp. Te rogamus.

Finita litania[24] *surgant omnes præter electum. Et duo episcopi ponant et teneant evangeliorum codicem*[25]

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[23] I would cite a canon of a council of London, in the year 1126, referring to these: "Statuimus præterea et apostolica auctoritate decernimus, ut in consecrationibus episcoporum, non cappa, non tapetæ, non manutergium, non baccinia, et nil omnino per violentiam, nisi sponte oblatum fuerit, penitus exigatur." *Wilkins:* Concilia. *tom.* 1. *p.* 408. The reader may compare a canon passed at Westminster, a few years after, to the same purpose. *Ibid. p.* 415.

[24] It has just been seen, that the Winchester pontifical does not specify whether the book was to be open or closed: and on account of an abuse which crept in about the 11th century, and spoken of in a succeeding note, I shall transcribe the corresponding rubric, agreeing in both, of the Bangor and Exeter pontificals.

"*Finita vero litania, surgant omnes præter electum: et duo episcopi ponant et teneant librum seu codicem evangeliorum super cervicem ejus et inter scapulas clausum.*"

[25] Amalarius, in his day, argued that this was a newly invented observance, and not founded upon primitive authority: "quod neque vetus auctoritas intimat, neque apostolica traditio, neque canonica auctoritas." *De off. ecc. Lib.* ij.

super cervicem ejus et inter scapulas clausum,[26] *et ordi-*

Cap. 14. But his statement must be somewhat corrected, for if this rite may not be traced up to the apostolic age, yet it has the practice of a very high antiquity to plead in its behalf. As the reader has already seen (note 21.) it was a part of the office in the pontifical of Egbert: it is in the sacramentary of S. Gregory: and enjoined by the 2nd canon of the often-quoted council of Carthage: "Episcopus cum ordinatur," are its words, "duo episcopi ponant et teneant evangeliorum codicem super caput et cervicem ejus: et uno super eum fundente benedictionem, reliqui omnes episcopi, qui adsunt, manibus suis caput ejus tangant."

Palladius in his life of S. Chrysostom mentions it; where speaking of a consecration by heretics, he says, "Non horruerunt evangelium scelesto capiti imponere." And *Menard* in his notes to the passage in the sacramentary, cites S. Chrysostom himself, alluding to the practice. But I would add, earlier than all these above cited, the testimony of the author of the Apostolical Constitutions, where, speaking of the order of the consecration of a bishop, he says: "*σιωπης γενομενης, έις των πρωτων ἐπισκοπων ἁμα και δυσιν έτεροις, πλησιον του θυσιαστηριου ἑστως, των λοιπων ἐπισκοπων και πρεσβυτερων σιωπῃ προσευχομενων, των δε διακονων τα θεια ευαγγελια ἐπι της του χειροτονουμενου καφαλης ανεπτυγμενα κατεχοντων, λεγετω προς Θεον.*" *Lib.* 8. *cap.* iv.*

It does not seem uncalled for, to add some of the mystical reasons which have been given for the observance of this very ancient rite. Peter Damiani tells us: "Ponitur et evangelica pagina super caput illius recumbentis, ut verbo vitæ sentiat excedere rationem, et oculi ejus deficiant in eloquium Domini." *Sermo.* 1. *de Dedicatione.* Amalarius also, although, as Catalani remarks, he had been objecting to the reasonableness of the observance, yet immediately adds: "Potest tamen evangelii positio super caput, monere tenentes, ut quo Dominus idem evangelium firmet in corde ejus, de-

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* It will be observed that here the book of the Gospels is directed to be held by deacons: and the student should consult the observations of *Habertus:* though I scarcely suppose he will agree with that writer in the very summary condemnation which he passes on it. *Pontif. Græc.* p. 78.

natore[27] *super eum fundente benedictionem, reliqui epis-*

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precentur, aut, ut moneant, eum, qui consecratur, recordari se amplius esse sub jugo Evangelii, quam foret." *Lib.* 2. *cap.* xiv. But all these must be referred to the judgment of S. Chrysostom; who, cited by *Habertus*, (*p.* 79.) has said: "Dum ordinantur sacerdotes, Evangelium capiti imponitur, quo discat ordinatus veram se accipere Evangelii tiaram: discat etiam, tametsi omnium sit caput, se tamen esse sub legibus, et quum omnibus dominetur, legis imperio subjici: cumque omnibus legem ponat, a lege gubernari.—Quod igitur Evangelium accipiat pontifex, significat eum esse sub potestate constitutum." *Homil. de laude Evangelii.*

Nor can I pass by, without remark, another matter which, there is undeniable evidence to prove, was connected with this placing of the Book of the Gospels upon the head of the new bishop. I shall extract the observations of Catalani. "Reliquum est, ut illud notemus, consuevisse olim cum Evangelii codex super caput imponeretur, ex occurrenti in prima pagina sacri textus sententia faustum infaustumque omen de futura episcopi administratione prænosci. Certe, in ordinatione Athanasii patriarchæ Constantinopolitani, tradit Pachimera *lib.* 2. *cap.* xv. verba illa occurrisse: *Qui paratus est diabolo, et angelis ejus.* Quod improbis ejusdem patriarchæ actis comprobatum est, eamque ob causam sede illa depulsus. Contra, in consecratione Lanfranci Cantuariensis archiepiscopi apparuerunt verba: *Date eleemosynam, et ecce omnia munda sunt vobis.* Qui præsul in largiendo eleemosynas valde fuit insignis. Alia id generis exempla multa ecclesiastici scriptores produnt; ex quibus perperam quidam arbitrati sunt, ad inquirendas sortes evangelium in ordinatione episcoporum adhiberi consuevisse." *Comment. in pontif. tom.* 1. *p.* 196.

With respect to all this, the obvious wish is, that these statements as to the fact may be unfounded: or at least that such a superstitious and objectionable practice was never recognized or allowed in this country. The case of Lanfranc, we must nevertheless confess, is unhappily supported by other examples: one, in the reign of Edward the Confessor, of Wulstan, bishop of Worcester: of whose consecration this circumstance is related; "Nec vero sine divino nutu credi fas est prognosticon hoc ei fuisse, 'Ecce vero Israelita, in quo dolus non est.'" *Vita S. Wlstani. Anglia Sacra. tom.* 2. *p.* 251. And another, the successor of Lanfranc: for *Matthew Paris* has told us of Arch-

copi qui adsunt manibus suis caput ejus tangant, et dicat ordinator :[28]

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bishop Anselm: "Inter sacrandum, pro ritu ecclesiæ, codex evangelii ab episcopis super eum apertus tenebatur: consecratione autem peracta, cum codex inspiceretur, in paginæ summitate hæc sententia est reperta; 'Vocavit multos, et misit servum suum, et cœperunt omnes se excusare,'" *Hist. p.* 15. As it has been already shewn, the English pontificals are unanimous, after this time, in directing the book to be closed: and I think it can scarcely be denied, that this particular order was wisely and religiously intended to put a stop to such a practice; one, which there are few who would not condemn at all times, and much more, on the occasion of so great a solemnity.

[26] "*Consecratore imponente utramque manum super caput electi, dicens ei:*

"Accipe Spiritum Sanctum.

"*Idemque faciant et dicant omnes episcopi adstantes, quo finito incipiat consecrator hymnum:* Veni Creator, *etc. Et cantetur usque in finem, et consecrator mediocri voce:*

"Oremus, dilectissimi nobis, *etc.*

"Propitiare, Domine, supplicationibus. *etc.*" *Pontif. Exon.*

[27] "*illum apertum.*" Rubr. pontif. Rom.

[28] The rubric in the Roman pontifical, after the delivery of the Book of the Gospels, is, similar to that in the Exeter MS.: "*Deinde consecrator, et assistentes episcopi ambabus manibus caput consecrandi tangunt, dicentes:* Accipe Spiritum Sanctum."

This is a remarkable difference, as the reader will presently see. For the later schoolmen have placed the "Form" in these words, "Accipe, &c." To quote the statement of Catalani: "Omnes prope scholastici, qui de materia, et forma episcopatus disputant, illius formam in his verbis constituunt: *Accipe Spiritum Sanctum,* quæ a consecratore, et assistentibus episcopis, posito evangelii codice super ordinandi caput, et illud tangentibus, statim proferuntur." *Comment. in pontif. tom.* 1. *p.* 197. But none of the English pontificals, except the Exeter, contains this "Form": and Martene acknowledges, "verba illa —— toti antiquitati ignota fuerunt: adeo ut vix in ullo pontificali annos 400. attingente reperiantur. Nam ex omnibus quæ percurrimus, tria tantum illa habent, Arelatense, Andegavense, et Guillelmi Durandi." The council of Trent however has declared; "Si quis dixerit, per sacram ordinationem non dari Spiritum Sanc-

Veni Creator, *ut supra in ordinibus.*
Sequatur:

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tum; ac proinde, frustra episcopos dicere; 'Accipe, *etc*,'—anathema sit." The difficulty therefore is the same as that already spoken of, *p.* 194. note 55. and the Roman controversialists are equally unsuccessful in this case, as in the former. The later schoolmen, who had the altered Roman Ordinal before them, did not know, what more accurate enquiries proved, that these words were of late introduction: they therefore not unwillingly seized upon them, to round off, if I may say so, the peculiar opinions of their day: and the council of Trent adopted their decisions.

It would however be unjust not to quote the argument by which Morinus, in his famous work, *de sacris ordinationibus*, attempts to evade the Tridentine canon: and I the more willingly do this, because it shews that the point of that canon has neither been mistaken, nor unjustly urged against the peculiar doctrine of the Church of Rome in this matter: the reader will scarcely think it is more than an evasion, even if it amounts to that. For the question is not, whether the grace of the Holy Spirit is given at ordination, but, as both matter and form have been accurately laid down as essentials, and defined, whether the council of Trent has or has not decided that the "Form" consists in certain words, which for more than a thousand years, the Church had not admitted, or used. He says:

"Neque huic universi traditioni contradicit concilium Tridentinum. Certum est quod ait per sacram ordinationem tradi Spiritum Sanctum, neque frustra episcopos dicere, *Accipe Spiritum Sanctum*, cum ordinationis virtute detur Spiritus Sanctus. Alludit concilium ad ea verba quæ ab aliquot sæculis non tantum in episcopatus, sed etiam in presbyteratus et diaconatus collatione dicuntur. Non frustra igitur dicuntur ista verba, cum catholicis certum sit ordinationis ritu obicem non ponentibus Spiritum Sanctum dari, et gratiam produci. Præterea ab antiquissimis temporibus tam apud Latinos quam apud Græcos, ——— invocatur Spiritus Sanctus. ——— Sed aliqui ab annis, paulo plus minusque quadringentis existimantes invocationem Spiritus Sancti non sufficere, addere voluerunt traditionem Spiritus Sancti modo imperativo. ——— Verum concilium Tridentinum declarato ordinationis sacræ principali effectu, inde verba illa ab episcopis non frustra dici tantum colligit, et me-

Oremus. *Oratio.*

Propitiare,[29] Domine, supplicationibus nostris, et inclinato super hunc famulum tuum cornu gratiæ sacerdotalis, bene✠dictionis tuæ in eum effunde virtutem: per Dominum nostrum, Jesum Christum, Filium tuum, qui tecum vivit et regnat, in unitate Spiritus Sancti, Deus.

Per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Dominus vobiscum.

Et cum spiritu tuo.

Sursum corda.

Habemus ad Dominum.

Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro.

Dignum et justum est.

Vere dignum et justum est, æquum et salutare, nos tibi semper et ubique gratias agere, Domine sancte,

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rito; de forma antem in qua ordinationis specie hæreat, ne verbum quidem. Si his verbis formam definire voluissent Patres, cum tres sint ordinationis sacræ gradus, sive species, et in unaquaque dicatur, Accipe Spiritum Sanctum, aut unam saltem cui conveniret, definire debuerunt, quod ab iis non est factum; aut tribus speciebus conveniet, quod nemo admittit. Sed rem ita se non habere ex argumento præcedente indubitanter constat." *Pars.* III. *Exerc.* 2. *cap.* ij.

It will not fail to be observed, how Morinus has here confused the whole subject: and as he has mixed up with his argument the same "Form" as it is in the ordination of priests, I would refer the reader to my note on that place, adding this plain extract from the *Catechismus ad parochos.* Speaking of the rite of ordination of priests, that authority states: "Ad extremum vero, manibus iterum ejus capiti impositis; Accipe, inquit, Spiritum Sanctum: quorum remiseris peccata, remittuntur eis; et quorum retinueris retenta sunt; eique cœlestem illam, quam Dominus discipulis suis dedit, peccata retinendi, ac remittendi potestatem tribuit." *p.* 205. *edit.* Aldus. 1566.

[29] This prayer, with the succeeding proper Preface, or prayer, is in the pontificals of archbishops Egbert and Dunstan.

Pater omnipotens, æterne Deus: Honor omnium dignitatum, quæ gloriæ tuæ sacris famulantur ordinibus. Deus, qui Moysen famulum tuum secreti familiaris affatu, inter cætera cœlestis documenta culturæ, de habitu quoque indumenti sacerdotalis instituens, electum Aaron mystico amictu vestiri inter sacra jussisti, ut intelligentiæ sensum de exemplis priorum caperet secutura posteritas, ne eruditio doctrinæ tuæ ulli deesset ætati: cum et apud veteres reverentiam ipsa significationum species obtineret, et apud nos certiora essent experimenta rerum, quam ænigmata figurarum. Illius namque sacerdotii anterioris habitus, nostræ mentis ornatus est, et pontificalem gloriam non jam nobis honor commendat vestium, sed splendor animarum: quia et illa, quæ tunc carnalibus blandiebantur obtutibus, ea potius quæ in ipsis erant intelligenda poscebant. Et idcirco huic famulo tuo, quem ad summi sacerdotii ministerium elegisti, hanc, quæsumus Domine, gratiam largiaris, ut quicquid illa velamina in fulgore auri, in nitore gemmarum, et in multimodi operis varietate signabant, hoc in ejus moribus actibusque clarescat. Comple, Domine, in sacerdote tuo ministerii tui summam, et ornamentis totius glorificationis instructum, cœlestis unguenti rore sanctifica.

Tunc consecrator,[30] *depositis chirothecis, et annulo*

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[30] "*Hic effundatur oleum chrismale super caput ejus in modum crucis.* Hoc, Domine, copiose, *etc.*" *Pontif. Winton.*

"*Hic mittat chrisma in caput ejus, in modum crucis: leniter dicens:* Unguatur, et consecretur, *etc.*

"Pax tibi.

"Et cum spiritu tuo.

"*Tunc omnes episcopi perungant caput ejus manibus suis. Metropolitanus vero dicat quod sequitur more præfationis.* Hoc, Domine, copiose, *etc.*" *Bangor.*

"*Hic mittat chrisma in coronam capitis electi cum pollice in modum crucis, leniter circumli-*

pontificali resumpto, sedeat, et liget caput ejus qui consecretur cum fasciola de panno lineo mundo ad hoc præparata, ita quod fasciola circumdet caput sub corona, quæ tota debeat remanere libera: et expansa super genua consecrantis toballia, mittat chrisma cum oleo mixtum super caput ejus cum pollice dextro, dicens:[31].

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gato prius capite lineo retorto, ne chrisma defluat in capillos ex more Romanæ curiæ, cum pollice dextræ manus totam tonsuram, dicens: Unguatur, et consecretur, *etc.*" *Exon.*

I must add, that both the Exeter and the Bangor MSS. omit the sentence, "per sacri chrismatis ——— benedictionem," in the Form, at anointing.

[31] I must refer the student for the ancient forms and prayers, as they were in the pontificals of Egbert and Dunstan, to *Martene, tom.* 2. where the ordinals are printed.

Menard, in his notes to the Sacramentary of S. Gregory, cites an English pontifical in which the head was to be anointed twice: "Porro in pontificali, quod Anglicanum esse creditur, duplex est unctio capitis, prior cum oleo et chrismate, secunda post manuum unctionem cum oleo tantum.——Quæ non sunt in editis et aliis codicibus nostris." p. 517. Nor does Catalani, or Martene seem to have known any other example of this practice.

It would therefore seem to have been peculiar to the Ordinal of some of the English churches. The reader, by a careful comparison of the note below, *p.* 265. 33. and 30. will see that the Winchester MS. exactly agrees with that which Menard speaks of;—that the Exeter and Bangor pontificals anoint the head once only;—and that the Salisbury Use was to anoint the head twice, but first with the mixed chrism and oil, and afterwards, before the unction of the hands, with chrism only.

I regret that my space prevents my entering, at length, into the subject of the ancient unction of priests and bishops: but, referring the student to the chief writers on the subject, I would sum up the intention and meaning of the rite, in the words of a very learned writer. "Concludo, sacerdotum tam superioris, quam inferioris ordinis manus inungi; primo, ut ad laborem, ad ministerium, ad diligentem et sedulam operam utrorumque manus indurentur et confirmentur: secundo, ut ad misericordiæ opera charitatis oleo diffluentes manus habere moneantur, non aridas, non contractas, non

Unguatur et consecretur caput tuum cœlesti benedictione, in ordine pontificali, per sacri chrismatis et olei unctionem, et nostram benedictionem. In nomine ✠ Patris, et ✠ Filii, et ✠ Spiritus Sancti. Amen.

illiberales: tertio, ut ad benedicendum, et sacramenta conficienda idonei reddantur: quarto, ut ad ligandum et solvendum habiliores efficiantur. Item, non sufficere episcopis, quod eorum in inferiori sacerdotio manus inunctæ fuerint, sed iterum cum consecrantur, inungi debere; tum quia ad benedicendum manus eorum sanctiores efficiendæ, tum quia sacerdotum consecratio, altarium, ecclesiarum, et cæterorum benedictio, sacramentorumque quorundam confectio tunc ipsis confertur: tum quia ad operosius ministerium, et honorificentius officium consecrantur: tum denique quia cum opes ecclesiæ in ipsorum potestate consistant, majorem largiendi habent occasionem, et ex suo statu ad pietatis, et supererogationis opera arctius devinciuntur. Chrismate vero episcopales manus, oleo presbyterales inungi; tum quod perfectionem illæ operentur, quæ chrismate bene olenti significatur: hæ illuminandis præsertim mentibus incumbant, quæ illuminatio oleo, quod ignis pabulum esse solet, convenienter exprimitur: tum quod in corpus Christi mysticum episcopi presbyteris majorem habeant potestatem; utrique vero in corpus Christi verum per se æqualem virtutem habeant: quæ scilicet præsertim conscientiæ puritate et nitore indiget: si quid proinde detrahi debet presbyterali unctione, quo præcellere ipsi possit episcopalis, non oleum, quod conscientiæ puritatem designat, sed balsamum, quod famæ claritatem significat, detrahendum, illudque episcopalis unctionis materiæ adjungendum. Denique infero, caput solius episcopi inungi, quia solus regiminis perfectam scientiam, solus gratiæ præsidendi perfectionem, solus regendi absolutam auctoritatem, solus perfectæ ecclesiæ caput est episcopus, solus tandem caput ecclesiæ Christum perfectius exhibet: presbyteri nec plenitudinem omnem sacerdotii sibi vendicant, nec sine episcopis aliquid gerendi auctoritatem, nec perfectæ ecclesiæ capita sunt, nec Christi perfecta exemplaria." *Hallier: de sacris Electionibus, Pars.* III. viij. 10. *p.* 464.

Much more information as to details may be found in the decretal epistle of Innocent III. *de sacra Unct:* the *Gemma Animæ, cap.* 181. Hugo S. Victor, *de sacram. lib.* 1. cap. 40. Morinus, *de sacris ordin. Exercit.* vj. and Habertus, *Pontif. Ecc. Græcæ, cap.* 28.

Pax tibi.

Resp: Et cum spiritu tuo.

Et nota, si plures sint qui consecrantur, hoc in persona cujuslibet singulariter repetatur.[32]

Postea, abstersis manibus, incipiat archiepiscopus, et dicat in modum præfationis:

Hoc, Domine, copiose in ejus caput influat, hoc in oris ejus subjecta decurrat, hoc in totius corporis extrema descendat, ut tui Spiritus virtus et interiora ejus repleat, et exteriora circumtegat. Abundet in eo constantia fidei, puritas dilectionis, sinceritas pacis. Sint speciosi, munere tuo, pedes ejus ad evangelizandum pacem, ad evangelizandum bona tua. Da ei, Domine, ministerium reconciliationis, in verbis et in factis, in virtute signorum et prodigiorum. Sit sermo ejus, et prædicatio, non in persuabilibus humanæ sapientiæ verbis, sed in ostensione spiritus et virtutis. Da ei, Domine, claves regni cœlorum, ut utatur, non glorietur, potestate quam tribuis in ædificationem, non in destructionem. Quodcumque ligaverit super terram, sit ligatum et in cœlis, et quodcumque solverit super terram, sit solutum et in cœlis. Quorum detinuerit peccata detenta sint, et quorum dimiserit, tu dimittas. Qui maledixerit ei, sit ille maledictus: et qui benedixerit ei, benedictionibus repleatur. Sit fidelis servus et prudens, quem constituas tu, Domine, super familiam tuam; ut det illis cibum in tempore opportuno, et exhibeat omnem hominem perfectum. Sit solicitudine impiger, sit spi-

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[32] The Exeter pontifical inserts here an antiphon, and psalm.

"*Ant.* Unguentum in capite quod descendit in barbam, barbam Aaron: quod descendit in oram vestimenti ejus, mandavit Dominus in benedictionem. *Psalmus* 132. Ecce quam bonum. *Et post unumquemque versum repetatur* Unguentum: *qua completa perficiat consecrator præfationem:* Hoc, Domine, copiose, *etc.*"

ritu fervens. Oderit superbiam, humilitatem diligat, nec eam unquam deserat, aut laudibus aut timore superatus. Non ponat lucem tenebras, nec tenebras lucem: non dicat malum bonum, nec bonum malum. Sit sapientibus et insipientibus debitor, ut fructum de profectu omnium consequatur. ✠ Tribuas ei, Domine, cathedram episcopalem, ad regendam ecclesiam tuam, et plebem sibi commissam. Sis ei auctoritas: sis ei potestas: sis ei firmitas. Multiplices super eum bene✠dictionem, et gratiam tuam: ut ad exorandam semper misericordiam tuam tuo munere idoneus, et tua gratia possit esse devotus:

Terminando secrete: Per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum Filium tuum, qui tecum vivit et regnat, in unitate Spiritus Sancti Deus. Per omnia sæcula sæculorum.

Et respondeant omnes: Amen.

Et tunc sequatur[33] *oratio elevata aliquantulum voce, et manu super eum dextera extensa. Oratio.*

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[33] There is great variety here between the pontificals. I shall first state the order of the Winchester MS.

"*Alia.* Pater sancte, omnipotens Deus, *etc.*

"*Benedictio de septiformi Spiritu.*

"Spiritus Sanctus septiformis, *etc.*

"*Consecratio manuum episcopi ab archiepiscopo, oleo sancto et chrismate:* Unguantur manus istæ, *etc.*

"*Hic mittatur oleum super caput ejus:* Unguetur et consecretur caput, *etc.*

"*Hic imponatur mitra capiti ejus:*

"*Benedictio annuli.* Sanctifica, quæsumus Domine, annulum istum, ut famulus tuus, *N*, gestator illius, quem in ordinem episcopalem electum sacravimus, fide sit plenus, operatione sincerus, in revelandis atque claudendis sacris mysteriis, salubri semper consideratione, discretus. Per.

Cum datur annulus. Accipe annulum discretionis, et honoris, fidei signum; ut quæ signanda sunt signes, et quæ aperienda sunt prodas, quæ liganda sunt liges, quæ solvenda sunt solvas, atque creden-

Pater sancte, omnipotens Deus, qui per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum ab initio cuncta creasti, et postmodum in fine temporum secundum pollicitationem quam Abraham patriarcha noster acceperat, ecclesiam quoque sanctorum congregatione fundasti, ordinatis rebus per quas legibus a te datis disciplinæ religio regeretur: præsta ut hic famulus tuus sit tuis ministeriis cunctisque fideliter gerendis officiis dignus, ut antiquitus instituta sacramentorum possit mysteria celebrare,

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tibus per fidem baptismatis lapsis et pœnitentibus, per ministerium reconciliationis januas regni cœlestis aperias, cunctis vero de thesauro dominico nova et vetera proferas, ad æternam salutem omnibus consolatio factus: gratia Domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto vivit, *etc.*

" *Benedictio baculi.* Sustentator humanæ, *etc.*

" *Cum datur baculus.* Accipe baculum pastoralis officii: et sis in corrigendis vitiis pie sæviens, judicium sine ira tenens, cum iratus fueris misericordiæ reminiscens.

" *Postea archiepiscopus ut incepit missam, peragat.*"

We have in the Bangor pontifical much omitted, which is ordered in both the Winchester and Sarum MSS.

" *Tunc cantet clerus communiter hanc antiphonam.*

" Unguentum in capite, *etc.* *Et per unumquemque versum psalmi repetat communiter clerus antiphonam.*

" *Completa autem benedictione, confirmet manum et pollicem consecrans cum chrismate, dicens:*

" Deus, et Pater, *etc.*

" *Benedictio baculi pastoralis:* Sustentator humanæ, *etc.*

" *Cum datur baculus pastoralis, dicat ordinator:* Accipe baculum, *etc.*

" *Benedictio annuli:* Creator et conservator, *etc.*

" *Ad annulum digito imponendum:* Accipe annulum, *etc.*

" *Benedictio mitræ:* Deus, cujus providentia, *etc.*

Cum datur mitra dicatur: Deus, qui mitræ, *etc.*

Data mitra, det ei codicem evangeliorum, dicens: Accipe evangelium, *etc.*"

Then follow the reading of the Gospel, and the proper mass: with no direction as in the text, below, for the mass which the newly consecrated bishop was to say.

The Exeter pontifical follows the order of the Bangor MS. after the antiphon: which according to the Use of that Church, had already been said, see above, note 32.

et per te in summum ad quod assumitur sacerdotium conse✠cretur. Sit super eum bene✠dictio tua, licet manu nostra sit porrecta. Præcipe, Domine, huic pascere oves tuas, ac tribue ut in commissa gregis custodia solicitus pastor vigilet. Spiritus huic Sanctus tuus cœlestium charismatum divisor assistat, ut sicut electus gentium doctor instituit, sit justitia non indigens, benignitate pollens, hospitalitate diffusus; servet in exhortationibus alacritatem, in persecutionibus fidem, in caritate patientiam, in veritate constantiam, in hæresibus ac vitiis omnibus odium sciat, in æmulationibus nesciat; in judiciis gratiosum esse sinas, et gratum esse concedas. Postremo omnia a te largiter discat, quæ salubriter tuos doceat. Sacerdotium ipsum opus esse existimet, non dignitatem. Proficiant ei honoris augmenta, etiam ad incrementa meritorum: ut per hæc sicut apud nos nunc asciscitur in sacerdotium, ita apud te postea asciscatur in regnum.[34]

Benedictio de septiformi Spiritu, sic:

Spiritus Sanctus septiformis veniat super te, et omnis benedictio, quæ in scripturis sanctis scripta est, super te veniat. Confirmet te Deus Pater, et Filius, et Spiritus Sanctus, ut habeas vitam æternam, et vivas in sæcula sæculorum.

Resp. Amen.

Post hæc chorus cantet hanc antiphonam:

Unguentum in capite quod descendit in barbam, barbam Aaron, quod descendit in oram vestimenti ejus. Mandavit Dominus benedictionem in sæculum

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[34] This long prayer, and the benediction which follows, also seem to have been peculiar to the Church of England: and as we find it in the pontifical of Dunstan, but not of Egbert, to have been introduced about the 10th century.

sæculi. Ecce quam bonum et quam jucundum habitare fratres in unum.

Repetatur antiphona post unumquemque versum.

Sicut unguentum in capite, quod descendit in barbam, barbam Aaron.

Quod descendit in oram vestimenti ejus, sicut ros Hermon, qui descendit in montem Sion.

Quoniam illic mandavit Dominus benedictionem, et vitam usque in sæculum.

Gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto.

Sicut erat in principio, et nunc, et semper, et in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Hic mittatur solum chrisma super caput ejus.

Unguatur et consecretur caput tuum cœlesti benedictione in ordine pontificali, per sacri chrismatis unctionem et nostram benedictionem. In nomine ✠ Patris, et Filii ✠, et Spiritus Sancti. Amen.

Unguantur manus istæ,[35] et sanctificentur, et in te

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[35] There is no mention of any unction of the hands in the sacramentary of S. Gregory: and I think it may be asserted that the pontifical of archbishop Egbert is the earliest MS. in which it is to be found. From England it was however adopted not long after into the foreign churches, as appears from several ancient orders printed by Martene. There are frequent references also in several authors to this practice, reaching up to nearly the time of Egbert. Peter Damian speaks of it, in immediate connexion with the consecration of bishops: "Liniuntur et manus, ut quicquid benedixerint benedicatur, et acceptum sit divinæ majestatis aspectui." *Serm.* 1. *de Ecc. dedicatione.* And Pope Innocent III. "Hoc unguento caput, et manus episcopi consecrentur." *De sacr. Unctione. cap.* 1. Menard cites also a synodical epistle, (concil. Carisiacum, *Quiercy on Oise*) A. D. 838, in which the unction of the hands is spoken of.

The student will see below that this unction was ordered to extend from the right thumb: and from note 33, that in the Bangor use, the thumb is still more particularly

Deo Deorum ordinentur. Unguo manus has oleo sanctificato et chrismate unctionis purificato: ut sicut unxit Moyses verbo oris sui manus sancti Aaron germani sui, et sicut unxit Spiritus Sanctus per suos flatus manus sanctorum apostolorum; ita unguantur manus istæ et sanctificentur et consecrentur, ut in omnibus sint perfectæ in nomine tuo, Pater, Filiique, atque æterni Spiritus Sancti, qui es unus summus Deus omnium vivorum et mortuorum, manens in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

His peractis, ipse qui consecratur extendat manus suas ambas, unam juxta alteram, ante consecratorem: et consecrator fundens chrisma super manus, cum pollice faciat crucem unguendo a pollice dextro usque ad indi-

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specified. Both Menard and Catalani have observed this, from some manuscripts which they had collated: and remark upon it, proving that there was, in some churches, a separate unction of the thumb: and in fact, an ancient ordinal of the church of Rouen, before referred to, has an express prayer "ad pollicem consecrandum." Although, (upon the other side,) it does not make any mention of an unction of the hands. Mabillon. *Analecta. p.* 229. But it is doubtful whether this separate unction of the thumb was adopted at any time by the church of Salisbury: and it is further not impossible, that the variations of the English MSS. consist only in the obscurity of the rubrics, all meaning the same thing, as is clearly enough expressed in the text above, that the unction of the hands should begin from the right thumb. Menard cites a passage, not very clear, in support of his view, from *Gulielmus Parisiensis:* "Quemadmodum in consecratione pontificum perfectio, et plenitudo legitur; sicut in unctionibus capitis, manuum, et pollicis, pinguedo internæ unctionis." *Cap. de extr. Unct.* A short rubric has been inserted into the margin of the pontifical, in a later hand, which would however seem to direct, that a separate unction of the thumb was to be performed: but I would not rely upon the authority of such an interpolation. "Hic prius consecrator, et post alii episcopi, chrismate confirment pollicem dexterum electi, sic dicendo: 'Oremus.'"

cem sinistrum, et lineat totas ipsius ab interiori parte, dicens siné nota:

Deus, et Pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui te ad pontificatus sublimari voluit dignitatem, ipse te chrismate et mysticæ delibutionis liquore perfundat, et spiritualis bene ✠ dictionis ubertate fœcundet, ut quicquid benedixeris benedicatur ✠, et quicquid sanctificaveris sancti ✠ ficetur; et conse ✠ cratæ manus tuæ, vel pollicis, impositio cunctis proficiat ad salutem. Amen.

Immensam clementiam tuam rogamus, omnipotens et piissime Deus, ut manus istius famuli tui, scilicet fratris nostri, sicut exterius obducuntur chirothecis istis,[36] sic interius aspergantur rore tuæ benedictionis,

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[36] In the first rubric of this service, among the necessaries to be provided, are specified the "Chirothecæ:" but with the exception of this reference, hardly agreeing with the rubric below, we have no notice taken of them in the order of consecration. But there is a rubric added, immediately before this prayer, in the margin of the pontifical, in a somewhat later hand: "Deinde imponat consecrator chirothecas lineas super manus electi, ad præservationem chrismatis, interim sic dicendo: 'Oremus.'" The limitation here, "ad præservationem chrismatis," explains the reason why they were put upon the hands. In the modern Roman pontifical, both the mitre and the gloves are solemnly delivered and put on, after the service of the communion is finished: and a special prayer is appointed to be said with each. In the most ancient Ordinals, there is no mention made of the gloves, nor, as the reader will observe, in the Winchester, Bangor, and Exeter MSS. We may, therefore conclude, that although sometimes put on, before this prayer, yet that the solemn investing with them was scarcely introduced into the Church of England: and that the nearest approach was a prayer, alluding to them, like that in the text. I do not mean to say, that the use of gloves, as a portion of the proper episcopal vestments, was not of very high antiquity in England, as in other of the Western churches: but that the putting them solemnly upon the hands of the new bishop, did not form an especial part of the office of consecration.

For there can be no question

ut quæcunque per eas sint benedicenda, sanctificanda, vel consecranda, per te benedicentur, sanctificentur,

of their constant and universal use by bishops for centuries in this country: this is certain from the testimony of illuminations, and brasses, and sculptures.* It is a remarkable circumstance also, that this very prayer in the text, "Immensam clementiam" is appointed to be said in the ancient "Ordo" printed by Hittorpius, *p.* 99, "*quando episcopus induitur manicis;*" for so, as was not unusual in that age, the "chirothecæ" were termed. Therefore we cannot refuse to the "chirothecæ" the authority of long use, though we need not give credit to Hugo Victorinus, Innocent III., or Durand, who, following the author of the "Gemma," have not hesitated to say, "Chirothecarum usus ab apostolis est traditus." *Gemma Animæ. lib.* 1. *cap.* 215.

The position in which this prayer occurs in the text, is certainly more natural than according to the modern Roman custom; by which, the gloves are made a chief ornament, not referred to the unction, and that they may be put on, the ring is of course ordered to be removed. It is probable, I think, that the allusion, and a mere allusion only, to them in the Sarum pontifieal, is to be traced to that earlier age, when they were worn by priests as well as bishops. Saussajus asserts that even then there was a difference observed: "nam presbyterales ex corio erant, episcopales ex serico, *aureum circulum* (teste Innocentio III.) *desuper habentes.* Sacerdotales erant consutæ, pontificiæ textiles ac inconsutiles, ad unitatis ecclesiæ quæ in episcopo residet mysticum indicium." *Panopl. Episc. p.* 354. With respect to this last point, there is the testimony of the "Gemma," in the chapter above cited: "chirothecæ sunt inconsutiles, quia actiones pontificis debent rectæ fidei esse concordes."

I transcribe the prayer which is now in the Roman Pontifical: and

* To these may be added Inventories: for example of S. Paul's, A. D. 1295. "Item, duæ chirothecæ, in quibus deficiunt multi lapilli. Item duo paria chirothecarum, ornata laminis argenteis deauratis, et lapidibus insertis." *Dugdale. S. Paul's p.* 205. And, of Canterbury: "Chirothecæ: cum perlis et gemmis in plata quadrata. Item par unum cum tasselis argenteis et parvis lapidibus. Item, quatuor paria cum tasselis argenteis. Item, par unum de lino, cum tasselis et perlis." *Dart's Canterbury. Append.* xiij.

et consecrentur. Qui vivis et regnas cum Deo Patre, in unitate.

Et repetatur pro quolibet, si plures sint: deinde imponantur chirothecæ. Deinde consecrator, abstersis manibus suis, benedicat baculum pastoralem, sic:

Sustentator humanæ imbecillitatis Deus, bene✠dic baculum istum, et quod in eo exterius designatur, interius in moribus famuli tui propitiationis clementia operetur. Per Dominum.

Quum datur baculus dicat ordinator:[37]

Accipe baculum pastoralis officii: et sis in corrigendis vitiis pie sæviens, judicium sine ira tenens, in fovendis virtutibus auditorum animos demulcens, in tranquillitate severitatis censuram non deserens.

Et repetatur pro quolibet, si plures sint.

Benedictio annuli.

I think the reader will agree, that the allusion to Jacob's gloves, is not the most appropriate which might have been suggested. "Circumda, Domine, manus hujus ministri tui munditia novi hominis, qui de cœlo descendit, ut quemadmodum Jacob dilectus tuus, pelliculis hædorum opertis manibus, paternam benedictionem, oblato patri cibo, potuque gratissimo, impetravit, sic et iste, oblata per manus suas hostia salutari, gratiæ tuæ benedictionem impetrare mereatur. Per." * *Pontif. Rom.* The Sarum prayer was better than this.

[37] The pontificals of Egbert and Dunstan deliver the pastoral staff: and there are numerous early writers who mention it, as a part of

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* St. Augustine however says: "Hædinis certe pellibus membra contexit; si causam proximam requiramus, mentitum putabimus; hoc enim fecit ut putaretur esse qui non erat: si autem hoc factum ad illud propter quod significandum re vera factum est referatur; per hædinas pelles peccata, per eum vero qui eis se operuit, ille significatus est, qui non sua, sed aliena peccata portavit. Verax ergo significatio nullo modo mendacium recte dici potest." *Contra mendacium.* 24. *Opera. Tom.* vj. *p.* 461.

Creator et conservator humani generis, dator gratiæ spiritualis, largitor æternæ salutis, tu Domine, emitte benedictionem tuam super hunc annulum, ut qui eum gestaverit, armatus virtute cœlestis defensionis proficiat ad salutem mentis et corporis. Per Dominum.

Post hæc consecrator mittat annulum[38] *in digitum annularem dextræ manus consecrati, dicens:*

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the office of consecration. Isidore Hispalensis says; "Huic autem, dum consecratur, datur baculus, ut ejus indicio subditam plebem vel regat, vel corrigat, vel infirmitates infirmorum sustineat." *De div. off. lib.* 2. v. (Hittorpius edit. p. 20.) Venerable Bede also, the contemporary of Egbert: "Baculum habet episcopus, ut subditos regat, infirmos sustineat." *De vij. ordinibus.* Martene cites also the following from a life of S. Cæsar Arelatensis: "Cum ergo vir Dei Cæsarius per eamdem pergeret ecclesiam, clericus cui cura erat baculum illius portare, quod notariorum officium erat, oblitus est." *Tom.* 2. *p.* 28. Once more: Hugo St. Victor explains other meanings attached to the pastoral staff: "Episcopo, dum regimen ecclesiæ committitur, baculus quasi pastori traditur, in quo tria notantur, quæ significatione non carent, recurvitas, virga, cuspis; significatio hoc carmine continetur:

Collige, sustenta, stimula,—vaga, morbida, lenta:
Hoc est pastoris, hoc virga figurat honoris.

Item,

Attraho peccantes, justos rogo, pungo vagantes,
Officio triplici servio pontifici."

De Sacram. cap. xl.

38 The delivery of the ring also forms a part of the ceremonial of Egbert: and before that time, Isidore Hispalensis, in the place before cited, note 37, immediately adds: "Datur et annulus propter signum pontificalis honoris, vel signaculum secretorum." Neither Amalarius, Alcuin, or Rabanus Maurus make any mention of it; and Catalani supposes that it was not until after their time that it was generally introduced into the churches of Germany. *Comment. tom.* 1. *p.* 208. The author, however, of the "Gemma Animæ" speaks of it, and says: "Annuli usus ex evangelio acceptus creditur, ubi saginati vituli conviva prima stola vestitur, annulo insignitur. —— Pontifex ergo annulum portat, ut se sponsum ecclesiæ agnoscat, ac pro illa animam, si necesse fuerit, sicut Christus ponat." *Cap.* 216. Bibl. Patrum. *Auct. tom.* 1. *col.* 1235.

Accipe annulum fidei scilicet signaculum, quatenus Dei sponsam, sanctam Dei videlicet ecclesiam, intemerata fide ornatus, illibate custodias.

Et repetatur pro quolibet si plures sint.

Benedictio mitræ.

Deus, cujus providentia statuit ut mitra pontificis caput ornaret, misericordiæ suæ dono concedat, ut hoc capitis ornamentum ministerio bonorum operum ad ornatum animæ convertatur. Per Dominum.

Cum datur mitra,[39] *dicat ordinator:*

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[39] This ceremony is of very late introduction: Catalani supposes that there is no trace of it in any pontifical before the 12th century; but as the reader has already seen, note 33, the Winchester MS. has a reference to it, but without an express prayer: "*Hic imponatur mitra capiti ejus.*" The benediction and prayer both occur in the Bangor pontifical.

I do not think it requisite to enter here into the controversy, as to the date at which mitres began to be used in the Western Church. The great authorities for an extreme antiquity are Saussajus, *Panoplia Episcopalis, lib.* 1. and Joseph Vicecomes, *de app. Missæ.* cap. xxix. Cardinal Bona takes a middle view of the question, by drawing a distinction between the mitre, properly so called, and some other ornament of the head, which, of some kind, was always worn from the primitive ages. *Rerum lit. lib.* 1. cap. xxiv. Martene, *de ant. ecc. rit. lib.* 1. *cap.* iv. following Mabillon, Præf. Sæc. iv. Bened. p. II. clxxxij. takes another ground: that the mitre was always an episcopal ornament, but that for many centuries it was made the subject of an especial grant and privilege from the Pope. Lastly Menard, in his notes to the Sacramentary of S. Gregory, declares that it was not introduced until the 10th century; and he relies upon the fact that there is no mention made of it in the ancient pontificals, nor in the ritualists before that time; either by Alcuin, or Amalarius, *etc.* This is undoubtedly a very powerful argument, and the only fact by way of evidence which is brought upon the other side, is an account of the examination of some supposed remains of pope Leo the Great: "in quibus super ejus caput *mitræ genus* inventum est." *Georgius. tom.* 1. *p.* 231. So that the question, as regards facts, is still where Menard has left it. The most

Deus qui mitræ pontificalis honore te voluit insignire clementer annuat, ut quæ per mitræ cornua figurantur, ad tutelam et salutem animæ fortiter et prudenter corde tractes et ore. Per Christum.

Et repetatur pro quolibet si plures sint.

Postea det eis codicem evangeliorum, dicens:[40]

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probable opinion seems to be that of cardinal Bona.

But I would add an extract from Innocent III. as to the mystical meaning and signification of the mitre. "Mitra pontificis scientiam utriusque testamenti significat: nam duo cornua, duo sunt testamenta, duæ fimbriæ spiritus, et litera: circulus aureus, qui anteriorem et posteriorem partem complectitur, indicat, quod omnis scriba doctus in regno cœlorum de thesauro suo nova profert, et vetera. Caveat ergo diligenter episcopus, ne prius velit esse magister, quam norit esse discipulus, ne si cæcus cæcum duxerit, ambo in foveam cadant." *Lib.* 1. *cap.* xliv. The student can consult also the "Gemma Animæ," *cap.* 214. Hugo Victorinus, *de sacr. lib.* 1. *cap.* 55: both these in the *Auctarium* to the Bibl. Patrum. *tom.* 1. And *Durandus. lib.* 3. *cap.* xiij. 5.

The mitre is a very frequent item in the old English inventories.

[40] There is not any notice of this ceremony in the Anglo-saxon pontificals: the unction, the ring, and the staff are appointed in all of them, but not the mitre or the book of the Gospels. None, also, of the earlier ritualists mention it: Isidore, or Alcuin, or Amalarius: and as it is not enjoined in the Winchester MS. although we find it in the Bangor, we may conclude that it began to be generally adopted in England, soon after the mitre, in the 12th or 13th century. Some writers of the Roman communion have argued that this delivering of the Gospels is "pars materiæ episcopatus:" to this Morinus objects, that the new bishop is after the unction, styled by the rubrics "consecratus," and not "electus." *De sacr. Ordin.* p. 18. And Catalani agrees with him: *Comment. tom.* 1. *p.* 210. But as far as the argument is concerned, it is somewhat curious, that in this particular place, the rubric of the Sarum pontifical does call the bishop, "electus." Nevertheless we may consent to the judgment of Catalani, (however he may have arrived at it, or to serve what end) that all these parts of the ordinal, the staff, ring, mitre, &c., are neither necessary,

Accipe evangelium, et vade, prædica populo tibi commisso: potens est enim Deus augere tibi gratiam suam, qui vivit et regnat Deus, per omnia sæcula sæculorum.

Pax tibi.

Resp. Et cum spiritu tuo.

Et repetatur pro quolibet si plures sint.

Et dominus metropolitanus, vel consecrator, peragat missam.

Electus autem[41] *juxta præscriptum ordinem consecratus, inclinet se metropolitano vel consecratori gratias referendo, quem duo episcopi adducant in locum ubi provisum est, ubi missam de sancta Maria celebret.*

Secretum, cum secreto de die:

Suscipe, Domine, munera quæ tibi offerimus pro famulo tuo, ut propitius in eodem tua dona custodias. Per Dominum nostrum.

Infra canonem.

Hanc igitur oblationem servitutis nostræ, sed et cunctæ familiæ tuæ, quam tibi offerimus, etiam pro famulo tuo quem ad episcopatus ordinem promovere

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nor essential; to use his words, resting on his argument from the term *consecratus*, "Quod quidem indicium est minime obscurum, nostrum Romanum pontificale, traditiones illas baculi, annuli, et evangelii habere, ut meras cæremonias consecrato episcopo accedentes." *Ibid.*

41 The rubric in this place of the Exeter pontifical throws some light upon that in the text, but it does not specify the mass which was to be said. "*Et tunc legatur evangelium; quo lecto, episcopus novus ex more Romanæ ecclesiæ ex institutione papæ Melchiadis habet offerre duos magnos panes, duas amphoras vini, et duos magnos cereos, sed istas oblationes non observat ecclesia Anglicana: sed lecto evangelio, recedat episcopus, de novo consecratus, quem deducant duo episcopi ad locum ubi missam est celebraturus. Postea dominus consecrator inceptam missam peragat.*"

dignatus es, quæsumus Domine, ut placatus accipias, et propitius in eo tua dona custodias; ut quod divino munere consecutus est, divinis effectibus exequatur: diesque nostros: *Et cætera omnia sicut continentur in canone missæ.*

Postcommunio.

Plenum, quæsumus Domine, in nobis remedium tuæ miserationis operare; et tales nos esse perfice propitius, et sic foveri, ut tibi in omnibus placere valeamus. Per Dominum.

Alia missa in ordinatione episcopi.

Deus, qui ad ineffabilis observantiam sacramenti famulorum tuorum præparas voluntates, donis tuis corda nostra purifica, ut quod sancta est devotione tractandum, sinceris mentibus exequamur. Per.

Secretum.

Hæc hostia, quæsumus Domine, emundet nostra delicta: et sacrificium celebrandum subditorum tibi corpora mentes sanctificet. Per Dominum.

Infra canonem. Hanc igitur.

Resp. ut supra in alia missa.

Post communio.

Hæc nos communio, Domine, purget a crimine, et cœlestis remedii faciat esse consortes, per Dominum.

Item alia missa episcopi pro se in die ordinationis suæ.

Oratio.

Deus, qui non propriis suffragantibus meritis sed sola ineffabilis gratiæ largitate me familiæ tuæ præesse voluisti: tribue me tibi digne persolvere ministerium sacerdotalis officii et ecclesiasticis convenienter servire mysteriis, plebemque mihi commissam, te in omnibus protegente, gubernare concede. Per Dominum.

Secretum.

Ad gloriam, Domine, tui nominis, annua festa re-

petentes sacerdotalis officii, hostiam tibi laudis offerimus, suppliciter exorantes, ut cujus ministerii vice tibi servimus immeriti, suffragiis reddamur accepti. Per Dominum.

Infra canonem.

Hanc igitur oblationem quam tibi offero ego famulus tuus et sacerdos, ob diem in qua me dignatus es in ministerio sacro constituere sacerdotem, obsecro, Domine, placatus accipias, unde majestatem tuam exoro ut quod in me largiri dignatus es, propitius custodire digneris: diesque nostros.

Benedictio super populum.

Deus, qui me indignum et peccatorem ad pontificale officium dignatus est promovere, sua vos illustret atque sanctificet benedictione. Amen.

Donet mihi per gratiam suam bene operandi facultatem: et vobis sui famulatus promptissimam obeditionem. Amen.

Sicque vos doctrinis spiritualibus et operibus bonis repleri in præsenti vita concedat: ut ad pascua vitæ æternæ cum cæteris ovibus suis vos pariter introducat. Amen.

Quod ipse præstare dignetur.

Postcommunio.

Repleantur consolationibus tuis, quæsumus Domine, tuorum corda fidelium, pariterque et de ecclesiæ præsule, et de suorum votorum plenitudine, gratiarum tibi referant actiones.

Officium.

Sacerdotes Dei benedicite Dominum: sancti et humiles corde laudate Deum.

In tempore paschali: Alleluia.

Psalmus. Benedicite omnia opera Domini Domino: laudate et superexaltate eum, in sæcula.

Pax vobis. Oremus.

Oratio.

Deus, cujus arbitrio omnium sæculorum ordo decurrit, respice propitius ad me famulum tuum, quem ad ordinem episcopatus promovere dignatus es, et ut tibi mea servitus complaceat, tua in me dona misericorditer conserva. Per Dominum.

Epistola ad Hebræos.

Fratres: Omnis pontifex ex hominibus assumptus, pro hominibus constituitur in iis quæ sunt ad Deum, ut offerat dona, et sacrificia pro peccatis. Qui condolere possit iis qui ignorant et errant, quoniam et ipse circumdatus est infirmitate. Et propterea debet quemadmodum pro populo, ita etiam et pro semetipso offerre pro peccatis. Nec quisquam sumit sibi honorem: sed qui vocatur a Deo, tanquam Aaron, quemadmodum scriptum est: Tu es sacerdos in æternum, secundum ordinem Melchisedech.

Graduale. Sacerdotes ejus induant salutare, et sancti ejus exultatione exultabunt.

Versus. Illuc producam cornu David, paravi lucernam Christo meo. Alleluia.

Versus. Posui adjutorium super potentem, et exaltavi electum de plebe mea.

In Septuagesima dicatur tractus.

Beatus vir qui timet Dominum, in mandatis ejus cupit nimis.

Versus. Potens in terra erit semen ejus, generatio rectorum benedicetur.

Versus. Gloria et divitiæ in domo ejus, et justitia ejus manet in sæculum sæculi.

Secundum Johannem.

In illo tempore: Dixit Jesus discipulis suis, Ego sum pastor bonus. Bonus pastor animam suam dat pro ovibus suis. Mercenarius autem qui non est pastor, cujus non sunt oves propriæ, videt lupum venientem,

et dimittit oves, et fugit. Et lupus rapit et dispergit oves. Mercenarius autem fugit quia mercenarius est; et non pertinet ad eum de ovibus. Ego sum pastor bonus. Et cognosco oves meas, et cognoscunt me meæ. Sicut novit me Pater, et ego agnosco Patrem: et animam meam pono pro ovibus meis. Et alias oves habeo quæ non sunt ex hoc ovili, et illas oportet me adducere, et vocem meam audient. Et fiet unum ovile, et unus pastor.

Offertorium.

Inveni David servum meum, et in oleo sancto unxi eum. Manus enim mea auxiliabitur ei, et brachium meum confortabit eum.

In tempore paschali. Alleluia.

Secretum.

Tibi, Domine Deus meus, devotionis meæ hostias immolo: adoro, pariterque deprecor clementiam tuam, ut me sacrificium mortificatione vitæ carnalis effectum in odorem suavitatis accipias, ac moribus quibus professioni meæ congruam instituas: ut sanctæ compunctionis ardore quem ab hominum cæterorum proposito segregasti, a conversatione carnali, et ab immunditia actuum terrenorum infusa mihi cœlitus sanctitate discernas, ut omnia terrena despiciam, cœlestia appetam. Per Dominum.

Communio. Fidelis servus et prudens, quem constituit Dominus super familiam suam, ut det illis in tempore tritici mensuram.

In tempore paschali: Alleluia. Alleluia.

Postcommunio.

Munerum tuorum, Domine, largitatem sumentes supplices deprecamur, ut quibus donasti hujus ministerii servitutem, exequendi gratiæ tuæ tribuas facultatem. Per Dominum.

Inthronizatio Episcopi cum ad sedem episcopatus sui advenerit.

De Inthronizatione Episcopi.[1]

DIE inthronizationis statuto; omnes prælati episcopatus, literatorie vocati, intersint hujusmodi solemnitati.

Decanus cum cæteris dignitatibus et canonicis ecclesiæ occurrant episcopo extra civitatem, et eo

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[1] I shall not offer any apology for the length of the note which I insert here: as the importance of it will amply justify its introduction. It contains first, the order of receiving and inthroning the Bishop of Salisbury in his own cathedral, about the middle of the fifteenth century. Although bearing a close resemblance to the order printed in the text, from the manuscript which has supplied so many of the offices edited in these volumes, yet there will be found some important variations. The Order in the text is that which was used in the cathedral to which the pontifical originally belonged, and which very probably retained in such an office, as the inthronization of its bishop, some ancient peculiarities.

In the same way, there are variations between the Form of the Greater excommunication as it was said on some occasions in the cathedral of Salisbury, and the same Form, as it stands in the editions of the *Manuale ad usum Sarum*. See *Vol.* 2, *p.* 286. And again, the Form of bidding the bedes, printed below, will be found to differ from those in the printed manuals.

The order which now follows, is taken from a manuscript in the possession of the dean and chapter of Salisbury. There are careful erasures in many parts, some of which occur below: rendering the words quite illegible. It is unfortunately much rubbed and defaced in other places.

"*Sequitur hic modus recipiendi novum episcopum, post munus consecrationis adeptum, antequam inthronizetur in ecclesia cathedrali Sarum. In primis ordinabitur processio per illos quorum interest more duplicis festi, in qua præcedere debent quatuor personæ ecclesiæ processionaliter. Primo ex parte decani, post cruces et alios ministros ecclesiæ ad hoc specialiter deputatos, præcedat dominus*

salutato revertantur, ita quod commode possit revestiri. Thesaurarius sive subthesaurarius ordinet servientes ad pulsandum.

Ordinetur processio per cantorem vel succentorem: prælati obvient ei in medio cœmeterii cum dicta processione. Tamen si alius episcopus fuerit, aspergat eum

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decanus; deinde cancellarius, et post eum duo archidiaconi: Dorsetiæ videlicet et Sarum: et tunc alii canonici sacerdotes, deinde canonici diaconi, et post eos canonici subdiaconi, prout stare solent in choro ex parte decani. Deinde vicarii majores et minores ex parte domini decani. Aliam vero partem processionis teneat præcentor primo, et post eum thesaurarius, et duo archidiaconi: videlicet Barokshire et Wyltshire. Deinde canonici et vicarii, ut dictum est de parte decani: qui omnes procedant honesto et lento [?] *passu per magnum ostium occidentale ecclesiæ, usque ad magnam portam clausi canonicorum borealem* ——— „ ——————— „ ——— „ ——— ——— „ ——— *cantando interim resp.* Cives apostolorum. *Et cum prædicti tres, episcopus viz. decanus, et præcentor, ad præfatum ostium pervenerint, unus alius canonicus, procurator decani et capituli sufficienter constitutus, præfatum episcopum ad juramentum fidelitatis eidem ecclesiæ præstandum requiret consuetum, ac ad faciendum ulterius in ea parte quod necessarium fuerit, seu etiam opportunum, prout clarius dictant sacræ et consuetæ prædictæ ecclesiæ sanctiones. Quo facto, præfatæ processionis diaconus textum evangeliorum, dictum juramentum continentem, eisdem offerre tenebitur sine mora. Cujus quidem juramenti tenor sequitur sub hac forma.*

"In Dei nomine. Amen. Nos .*N*. permissione divina ecclesiæ Saresburiensis episcopus, promittimus et juramus ipsi ecclesiæ Saresburiensi fidelitatem, et quod consuetudines ejusdem ecclesiæ antiquas, approbatas, illæsas observabimus, ac pro ipsius ecclesiæ juribus, libertatibus, et dignitatibus fideliter defensandis, opem et operam impendemus. Sic Deus nos adjuvet, et hæc sancta.

"*Et consequenter textum osculabitur supradictum. Quibus peractis præcentor incipiet antiphonam,* Beata Dei genitrix. *Et prædicti duo episcopum usque ad supremum gradum summi altaris adducent, choro interim canente antiphonam supradictam. Ipsoque episcopo ibidem coram*

aqua benedicta decanus, et cantor, sive ille qui est major in choro, cum alio canonico sibi associato, thurificent

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altari prostrato, decanus sive excellentior preces dicat, cum nota solemniter, subsequentes.

"Et ne nos inducas in tentationem.

"*Resp.* Sed libera.

"Salvum fac servum tuum.

"*Resp.* Deus, sperantem in te.

"Mitte ei, Domine, auxilium de sancto.

"*Resp.* Et de Syon tuere eum.

"Nihil proficiat inimicus in eo.

"*Resp.* Et filius iniquitatis non apponat nocere ei.

"Esto ei, Domine, turris fortitudinis.

"*Resp.* A facie inimici.

"Domine, exaudi orationem meam.

"*Resp.* Et clamor meus ad te veniat.

"Dominus vobiscum.

"*Resp.* Et cum spiritu tuo.

"Oremus.

"*Oratio.*

"Concede, quæsumus Domine, famulo tuo *N.* episcopo nostro, ut prædicando et exercendo quæ recta sunt, exemplo bonorum operum animas suorum instruat subditorum, et æternæ remunerationis mercedem a te piissimo pastore percipiat. Per Christum Dominum nostrum.

"*Deinde adducetur per præfatos decanum et præcentorem ad sedem episcopalem, et ibidem per archidiaconum Cantuariensem inthronizabitur vel per commissarium suum, lecta tunc publice commissione, si absens dictus archidiaconus hoc committat, et ipso inthronizato, statim incipiat præcentor hymnum:*

"Te Deum laudamus.

"*Et notandum est quod dicti decanus et præcentor semper* —— „ —— *domino episcopo in sede sua prædicta, quousque hymnus* Te Deum laudamus *totaliter percantetur. Quo finito, dicant omnes:*

"Kyrie eleyson. Christe eleyson. Kyrie eleyson. Pater noster.

"*Tunc decanus stans a dextris episcopi, dicat solemniter cum nota, versum:*

"Et ne nos inducas in tentationem. Sed libera nos.

"Ostende nobis Domine misericordiam tuam.

"Et salutem.

"Salvum fac servum tuum.

"Deus meus, sperantem in te.

"Convertere Domine usquequo.

"Et deprecabilis esto super servum tuum.

"Sit splendor Domini Dei nostri super eum.

"Et opera manuum suarum dirigat.

eum, et osculatis textis interius revertatur processio, junioribus præcedentibus, et sic processionaliter procedant

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" Domine, exaudi orationem meam.

" Et clamor meus ad te veniat.

" Dominus vobiscum.

" Et cum spiritu tuo.

" Oremus.

" Deus, omnium fidelium pastor et rector, famulum tuum *N.* quem pastorem huic ecclesiæ tuæ præesse voluisti, propitius respice: da ei, quæsumus, verbo et exemplo quibus præest ita proficere, ut ad vitam una cum grege sibi credito perveniat sempiternam: per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum Filium tuum, qui tecum vivit et regnat.

" *Tunc dicat dominus episcopus:*

" Sit nomen Domini benedictum.

" Ex hoc, nunc, et usque in sæculum.

" Adjutorium nostrum in nomine Domini.

" Qui fecit cœlum et terram.

" Benedictio Dei Patris omnipotentis, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, descendat super vos et maneat semper.

" *Chorus respondeat:* Amen.

" *Data insuper benedictione, præfati decanus et præcentor ipsum episcopum in vestibulum adducent, pro suis pontificalibus ad celebrandum missam induendis: quibus indutis, ut moris est in festis duplicibus, cum quinque diaconis et quinque subdiaconis, tam pro processione tunc facienda si præ multitudine populi fieri poterit, quam pro officio missæ sic peragendo; in qua quidem missa quatuor erunt rectores, cum aliis ministris in festis duplicibus consuetis.*"

The Bangor pontifical does not contain this Order. In the Winchester and Exeter MSS. there is an entirely different service appointed, and in both, it is attached to the office of consecration of a bishop, immediately after the corresponding rubric to that above, *p.* 276. " *Quem duo episcopi adducant, etc.*" and without any separate title or heading.

I shall now transcribe this Order as it is in the Winchester pontifical, which the Exeter MS. follows, almost in every word.

" *Cum ad sedem episcopii sui consecratus episcopus venerit, priusquam in cathedra ponatur, ab aliquo episcopo cui a metropolitano injunctum fuerit, hæc oratio ante ipsam cathedram dicatur:*

" Deus honorum omnium, Deus omnium dignitatum, quæ gloriæ tuæ sacris famulantur ordinibus, huic famulo tuo *N.* quem apostolicæ sedis præsulem et primatem sacerdotum, ac ecclesiæ tuæ doc-

ad ecclesiam, ut in die nativitatis Domini, prælatis ultimis. Episcopus incedat inter duos digniores prælatos, vel prælatis absentibus inter decanum et præcentorem, præcentore sive succentore incipiente responsum, Summæ Trinitati. *Et sic eadem via quoque qua accesserunt, usque ad gradum altaris adducant.*

Et cum venerit ante magnum altare, episcopus inclinet se super sedile, cum quarello substrato tapeto, genuflectendo. Responso percantato, cum suo versu, a toto choro, sequatur:

Kyrie eleyson. Christe eleyson. Kyrie eleyson.

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torem dedisti, et ad summi sacerdotii ministerium elegisti, hanc, quæsumus Domine, gratiam largiaris, ut cathedram pontificalem ad regendam ecclesiam tuam, et plebem universam, ascendat. Per.

"*Hic mittatur in cathedram episcopalem: et hæc oratio dicatur:*

"Omnipotens pater, sancte Deus æterne, tu omnem ordinem dignatus es in cœlestibus sedibus ordinare, in cœlo, Domine, in æternum permanet verbum tuum, ubi angelos et archangelos, suo tibi ordine mancipasti; et in veteris testamenti privilegio, Moysen et Aaron in sacerdotibus tuis, et Samuel inter eos qui invocant nomen tuum, patriarchas et prophetas ad consulendum populo tuo ordinasti; et in novo, per Filium tuum, Jesum Christum, apostolos sanctos, et præcipue Petrum apostolum, in cathedram honoris universæ ecclesiæ præposuisti, et Matthiam ejusdem consortem in apostolatum atque cathedram honoris enumerasti, et in numero sanctorum omnium apostolorum evocasti; quæsumus, pro tua immensa misericordia, in nostris temporibus da tuam gratiam fratri nostro *N.* ad instar sanctorum apostolorum tuorum sedentium in cathedra honoris et dignitatis, ut in conspectu majestatis tuæ dignus honore appareat. Per.

"Domine Jesu Christe, tu præelegisti apostolos tuos, ut doctrina sua nobis præessent, tu etiam vice apostolorum hunc episcopum doctrinam docere, et benedicere, et erudire digneris, ut immaculatam vitam et illæsam conservet. Per eundem.

"*Benedictio ejusdem episcopi:*

"Populus te honoret, *etc.*" *ut infra.*

There seems to be but little

Sine nota.

Pater noster.

Deinde super episcopum, cum prosternat se in oratione ad gradum altaris, dicat diaconus, vel qui est major in choro, capa serica indutus:

Et ne nos.

Salvum fac servum tuum, Domine, Deus meus.

Mitte ei Domine auxilium de sancto.

Et de Syon.

Nihil proficiat inimicus in eo.

Et filius.

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doubt that these two pontificals contemplate the consecration of the bishop in his own cathedral: in which case the inthronization would take place at once, and form a part of the great solemnity. Or, according to the Uses of those churches in the office of consecration, the ceremony still retained in the church of Rome, might have been intended: namely, the placing of the new bishop in a "seat" or "throne" either prepared for him, or that in which the consecrating bishop had sat. It may not be improper to extract the rubric on this point from the modern Roman pontifical, as it illustrates what I have just said.

The rubric after the putting on of the gloves, proceeds: "*Tum surgit consecrator, et accipit consecratum per manum dexteram, et primus ex assistentibus episcopis per sinistram, et inthronizant eum, ponendo ipsum ad sedendum in faldistorio, de quo surrexit consecrator: vel, si id fiat in ecclesia propria consecrati, inthronizant eum in sede episcopali consueta, et consecrator tradit ei baculum pastoralem in sinistra.*" Rubr. Pontif. Rom.

The pontifical of Egbert includes the inthronization, in the Order of Consecration: appointing two prayers only:

"*Modo mittatur in cathedram episcopalem, et hæc oratio dicenda est:*

"Omnipotens Pater, sancte: *etc.*

"Domine, Jesu Christe, tu præelegisti: *etc.*" *ut supra.*

This pontifical doubtless supposed the consecration to be in the new bishop's own cathedral.

Esto ei Domine turris fortitudinis.
A facie inimici.
Domine exaudi orationem meam.
Et clamor meus.
Dominus vobiscum.
Oremus.
Oratio.

Concede, quæsumus Domine, famulo tuo *N.* episcopo nostro, ut prædicando et exercendo quæ recta sunt, exemplo bonorum operum animas suorum instruet subditorum, et æternæ remunerationis mercedem a te piissimo pastore percipiat. Per Dominum.

Et osculato altari, dicat episcopus benedictionem stando ante altare conversus ad populum.

Sit nomen.
Adjutorium nostrum.
Benedicat vos omnipotens Deus.

Postea admittat prælatos, et decanum, in osculum pacis, cum capitulo. Postea archidiaconus Cantuariensis, vel alius vice sua installet eum, ut mos est; et dum installatur, incipiatur a cantore:

Te Deum laudamus:

et percantetur a choro, episcopo sedente in sede sua: et tunc post Te Deum laudamus, *dicat diaconus istas orationes sequentes, cum,*

Dominus vobiscum:
et, Oremus.
Oratio.

Deus, cui omnis potestas et omnis dignitas famulatur, qui de summo cœlorum fastigio cuncta creata gubernas, da famulo tuo pontifici nostro, quem ad pastoralis honorem cathedræ sublimasti, prosperum suæ dignitatis effectum; fac eum, quæsumus, virtutum titulis

præpollentem, illustrante gratia tua, sic morum et meritorum splendore clarescere, ut servus tibi fidelis et prudens his quibus præest proficiens, verbo pariter et exemplo multiplicatum tibi fructum valeat opportuno tempore reportare.

Alia oratio.

Rege eum, quæsumus Domine, dextera cœlestis auxilii et in tua semper protectione conserva, ut te timendo super omnia perfecte diligat, et ab omnibus tuo munimine liberatus adversis, temporalibus non destituatur auxiliis, et sempiternis gaudeat institutis.

Oratio.

Fidelium, Deus, omnium rector et pastor, famulo tuo pontifici nostro quem pastorem ecclesiæ tuæ esse voluisti, tribue cœlestium propitius incrementa carismatum, et ei concede commissum sibi gregem digne et fideliter gubernare, quatenus eosdem pastor bonus ad pascua perennis vitæ deducens, a te bonorum omnium retributore mercedem et regnum sine fine mansurum simul cum illis percipere mereatur. Per Christum.

Et dicitur sub uno Per Christum.

Si aliquis episcopus præsens fuerit, dicat super ipsum istam benedictionem.

Populus te honoret, adjuvet te Deus, quicquid petieris præstet tibi Dominus, cum honore, cum castitate, cum scientia, cum largitate, cum caritate, cum humilitate: dignus sis, justus sis, sincerus sis, apostolus Christi sis: accipe benedictionem ac apostolatum, qui permanet in die ista, et in die futura: angeli sint ad dexteram tuam et ad sinistram tuam: ecclesia sit mater tua, sit Deus Pater tuus, sint angeli amici tui, sint apostoli fratres tui, et apostolatus tui gradum custodiant: confirmet te Deus in justitia, in sanctitate, in

ecclesia sancta: angeli recipiant te, et pax tecum inseparabilis per Redemptorem, Dominum nostrum, Jesum Christum, qui cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto vivit et regnat in sæcula sæculorum.

Resp. Amen.

Benedictio Dei omnipotentis, Patris ✠, et Filii ✠, et Spiritus Sancti, super te descendat, et maneat semper. Amen.[2]

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[2] This last benediction is omitted in the Exeter pontifical.

I.

De inthronizatione Archiepiscopi,
si pallium a sede apostolica personaliter receperit.

II.

Item de inthronizatione Archiepiscopi, quando sibi pallium mittitur a sede apostolica per nuncios speciales, et de professione ejusdem.

Officium inthronizationis archiepiscopi, si pallium a sede apostolica personaliter receperit.[1]

CONVENTUS a summo mane, totum servitium usque ad magnam missam celebrabit.

Cum enim archiepiscopus civitatem ingressus fuerit, prior et conventus, capis induti, usque ad portam cœmeterii cum solemni processione

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[1] Both the Bangor and the Exeter pontificals contain this office: and I think the most simple method will be to transcribe the order, as it stands in those MSS., referring to the prayers which are to be found also in the text. The reader will thus the better understand the full order, as it was in the latter part of the fifteenth century, after various alterations and additions had been made.

First, the Bangor MS.

"*In consecratione archiepiscopi quando ipse archiepiscopus defert pallium a sede Romana.*

"Dominus vobiscum. Et cum spiritu tuo.

"*Oratio.* Deus qui de excelso cœlorum, *etc.*

"Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui cum sis altissimus, *etc.*

"Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui e summo cœli, *etc.*

"*In consecratione archiepiscopi [priusquam pallio circumdetur, dicatur ab aliquo?]* * *episcopo hæc oratio:*

"Domine Deus, Pater omnipotens, qui sola ineffabili, *etc.*

"*Qua dicta, ponatur ei pallium super humeros, dicente episcopo:*

"Accipe pallium, summi sacerdotii, *etc.*

"*Post hæc cum festiva processione, ducatur ad altare Domini Salvatoris, choro psallente ant:* Firmetur manus tua, *vel resp.* Dominum time. *Quo finito, dicatur hæc oratio, cum* Dominus vobiscum.

"Nostris, quæsumus Domine, officiis clemens adesto, et famulo

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* The rubric here, and below, is much rubbed and defaced.

eidem occurrant, et accepta aqua benedicta, et archiepiscopo incensato, cruces et textus osculetur.

Deinde prior pallium archiepiscopi de manu clerici illud portantis recipiat, et dictum pallium capellano

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tuo .*N.* archiepiscopo nostro, benedictionis tuæ gratiam concede, quem auctoritate apostolica, et mystico munere sacri pallii induere dignatus es, et ad summum sacerdotium promovere: fac, Domine quæsumus, ut sicut cæteros in ecclesia gradus honore præcellit, ita meritis et virtutibus augeatur. Per.

"*Deinde ducatur ad cathedram pontificalem, et in eam cum honore mittatur. Ubi, eo sedente, decantetur a fratribus sex vel octo stantibus ante solium, modico in eorum medio existente spatio. Quorum una medietas dicat hujus antiphonæ hanc partem:*

"Benedictus Deus, *etc.*

"*Respondeat altera medietas.*

"*Qua finita, dicatur ab uno episcopo hæc oratio:*

"Deus, qui ecclesiam tuam multiplici munerum tuorum largitate lætificas, concede famulo tuo .N. quem hodierna die apostolicæ dignitatis sublimitate et sacratissimi pallii benedictione confirmasti, virtutum titulis pollere, morum et meritorum gratia clarescere, gregemque sibi creditum digne ac fideliter regere, quatenus cum eo mereatur, devicto sæculo, ad pascua vitæ perennis feliciter pervenire. Per Dominum.

"*His dictis, missa celebretur.*"

In the Exeter pontifical, the Order is as follows.

"*In inthronizatione archiepiscopi antequam pallio circumdetur, dicitur ab uno episcopo:*

"Domine Deus, pater omnipotens, qui sola ineffabili, *etc.*

"*Oratione dicta, ponatur ei pallium super humeros, dicente episcopo:*

"Accipe pallium, *etc.*

"*Post hæc, cum festiva processione, ducatur ad altare, choro psallente antiphonam:* Firmetur manus tua: *vel resp.* Domini est terra: *quo dicto, dicitur hæc oratio, cum* Dominus vobiscum, *et cum* Oremus.

"Nostris, quæsumus Domine, etc.

"*Deinde dicitur a priore:*

"In Dei nomine. Amen. Auctoritate ejusdem, *etc.*

"*Deinde ducatur ad cathedram pontificalem, et in ea cum honore collocetur, ubi, eo sedente, decantetur alternatim a fratribus coram eo, Ant.* Benedictus Deus: *qua finita dicatur:* Oremus.

"Deus, qui ecclesiam tuam, *etc.*

"*His dictis, celebretur missa cum omni solemnitate.*"

archiepiscopi revestito, si monachus fuerit Cantuariæ, tradat deferendum. Si vero archiepiscopus capellanum de conventu Cantuariæ nondum habuerit, prior tradat hujusmodi pallium alicui seniori monacho Cantuariæ deferendum. Qui in vase argenteo, panno serico albo cooperto, pallium deplicatum, manu erecta, conventu præcedente, coram archiepiscopo et priore ad magnum altare solemniter portabit, et super altare ponet.

Conventus vero in choro manebit, decantans responsorium inceptum; archiepiscopus vero ante magnum altare interim prostratus orabit.

Finito cantu in choro, subjungat prior:

Salvum fac servum.

Deus meus sperantem.

Mitte ei, Domine.

Et de Sion.

Dominus vobiscum.

Oremus.

Deus Pater, et pastor ecclesiæ triumphantis, famulum tuum, quem pastorem ecclesiæ tuæ militanti præesse voluisti, propitius respice; da ei verbo et exemplo quibus præest ita proficere, ut ad illorum consortium, quorum vicem gerit in terris, una cum grege sibi credito valeat feliciter pervenire. Per Christum.

Finita collecta, archiepiscopus erigat se, et data populo benedictione, cantor incipiat:

Te Deum laudamus.

Interim vero archiepiscopus ad sedem suam ligneam in choro declinabit, pallio super altare remanente.

Finito Te Deum, *prior, deinde singuli fratres per ordinem ad altare accedentes pallium osculentur: deinde archiepiscopum, si tamen archiepiscopus post consecrationem suam tunc primo ecclesiam Cantuariæ intraverit.*

¶ *His peractis pallium in vestiarium deportetur, et archiepiscopus in cameram suam declinet.*

¶ *Adveniente hora celebrandæ missæ, archiepiscopus solemnibus vestimentis pontificalibus in vestiario indutus, et pallio redimitus, cum priore, tribus diaconis, et tribus subdiaconis cardinalibus, chorum intrabit; presbyteros vero cardinales non habebit, propter pressuram populi circa altare.*

Ad introitum vero chori cantor incipiat resp. Deum time, *quod solemniter chorus decantabit.*

¶ *Interim vero archiepiscopus et prior et prædicti ministri altaris, faciant stationem coram sede marmorea archiepiscopi sub feretro sancti Blasii versa ad orientem.*

Finito responsorio, prior subjungat collectam:

Deus, qui ab excelso cœlorum habitaculo, corda fidelium Spiritu Sancto corroborando illustras, archipræsulem nostrum quem sanctitatis pallio decorasti, virtutum quoque cœlestium robore confirma, ut ejus exemplo nos et documento iter vitæ cœlestis ingredi, et cum eo regni tui consortes fieri mereamur. Per Dominum. In unitate ejusdem.

Dicta collecta, prior perducat archiepiscopum ad cathedram suam pontificalem, et facta modica statione coram cathedra, prior dicat hanc orationem:

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui cum sis altissimus humilis ad nos descendere dignatus es, te suppliciter exoramus, ut fastidio sacerdotii huic famulo tuo a te collato humilitatis dignitate promoveatur, et sicut in ministerio regiminis sui hanc sedem pontificalem ascensurus aggreditur, ita sedem pectoris ejus tuæ inhabitationis visitatione aggrediaris, quatenus solium tuæ sessionis largiente gratia tua existere mereatur: per te, Jesu Christe, qui cum æterno tibi Patre, et Spiritu

Sancto, vivis et regnas Deus. Per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Dicta vero collecta, prior, ad quem pertinet archiepiscopum inthronizare, eundem archiepiscopum inter brachia sua recipiat reverenter,[2] *et archiepiscopum in cathedra pontificali inthronizet, et verba subscripta legat hoc modo:*

In Dei nomine. Amen. Auctoritate ejusdem ego .N. prior hujus ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariæ, inthronizo te dominum archiepiscopum in hac Cantuariæ ecclesia, in qua idem Dominus noster, Jesus Christus, custodiat introitum tuum ex hoc, nunc, et usque in sæculum.

His peractis, et archiepiscopo in throno suo sedente, octo monachi coram archiepiscopo, sub feretro sancti Blasii, alternatim cantent cantum:

Benedictus Deus.

Finito cantu, prior subjungat hanc orationem.

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui de summo cœli fastigio omnia regnorum gubernacula regis, archipræsuli nostro, dominium hujus cathedræ a te bonorum omnium largitore suscipienti, cœlestium tribue incre-

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[2] It is possible that this was a relic of a very ancient custom, once observed in the Gallic, and probably in the British churches. Before enthronization, the newly consecrated bishop was carried by the other bishops present, to his seat: or to one prepared for the occasion. Eddius relates the observance of it, in the case of Wilfrid, archbishop of York, the predecessor of Egbert: who was consecrated, not in his own cathedral, but in France. "Ibique statim conventio magna facta est, non minus quam duodecim episcoporum catholicorum, e quibus unus erat Ægelbercthus episcopus, qui eum propter fidem suam indicatam in sella aurea sedentem more eorum sursum elevaverunt, portantes in manibus soli episcopi intra oratoria, nullo alio attingente, hymnosque et cantica in choro canentes." *Vita S. Wilfridi. cap.* 12.

menta carismatum, quatenus oves sibi commendatas ita gubernet, ut cum fructu bonorum operum ad regnum sine fine mansurum cum illis, te donante, perveniat. Per Dominum.

Dicta collecta, cantor incipiat solemniter officium missæ de Trinitate. Cantato officio, et Kyrieleyson, *archiepiscopus coram throno, versus ad orientem, incipiat:*

Gloria in excelsis.

Deinde collectam missæ: et lecto evangelio, dicat Credo. *Et post* Credo, Dominus vobiscum *dicet ibidem.*

Cantato offertorio in choro, archiepiscopus de throno suo descendet, et ante magnum altare veniet, et oblationem panis et vini a cantore, prout moris est, recipiet. Et ex tunc totam missam ibidem complebit, nec ad thronum suum illo die redibit.

Missa celebrata, archiepiscopus et omnes episcopi præsentes indulgentias populo concedant, prout eis placebit.

Deinde sacris vestibus in vestiario exutus, archiepiscopus ad cameram suam declinabit, pransurus cum prælatis et proceribus ad solemnitatem hujus invitatis.

Die inthronizationis archiepiscopi quando pallium suum mittitur a sede apostolica per nuncios speciales, ad hoc destinatos, conventus summo mane primam et totum servitium usque ad magnam missam celebrabit.

His peractis, ordinetur solemnis processio in choro, et procedent qui cruces, cereos, thuribula, textus, et alia sanctuaria portant. Deinde sequatur archiepiscopus pontificalibus indutus, nudis pedibus. Deinde prior et conventus capis induti; et procedant omnes obviam pal-

lium portanti, usque ad portam civitatis per quam intrabit, si serenitas temporis hoc permittat.

Ille vero qui pallium defert de sede apostolica, alba et capa chori erit indutus, et pallium in aliquo vase aureo, vel argenteo, inclusum honorifice portabit.

Cum vero pallium portanti occurrerint, revertetur processio, et procedant qui cruces et alia portant. Deinde minores et omnes alii juxta ordinem suum. Et ultimo sequatur archiepiscopus, et post illum pallium portans. Et reversi in chorum, ponatur pallium super magnum altare.

Interim vero archiepiscopus coram magno altari prostratus orabit. Finito vero cantu in choro, surgat episcopus et data benedictione super populum, accedat ad altare, et faciat professionem suam in scriptis sub hac forma:

Ego N. archiepiscopus Cantuariæ ab hora ——— ——— fidelis et obediens ero[3] ——— „ ——— „ ——— ——— „ ——— „ ——— „ ——— „ ——— „ ——— successoribus canonice intrantibus. Non ero in consilio, aut consensu, vel facto, ut vitam perdant aut membrum, aut capiantur mala captione. Consilium quod mihi credituri sunt, per se, aut per nuntios suos, sive litteras, ad eorum damnum, me sciente, nulli pandam. Papatum Romanæ ecclesiæ et regalia sancti Petri, adjutor ero, ad defendendum et retinendum, salvo ordine meo, contra omnem hominem. Legatum sedis apostolicæ eundo et redeundo honorifice tractabo, et in suis necessitatibus adjuvabo. Vocatus ad synodum veniam, nisi præpeditus fuero canonica præpeditione. Apostolorum limina singulis trienniis, aut

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[3] This sentence has been completely erased in the manuscript.

per me aut per nuntios meos, visitabo, nisi apostolica absolvar licentia. Possessiones ad mensam mei archiepiscopatus pertinentes non vendam, neque donabo, neque impignorabo, neque de novo infeodabo, vel aliquo modo alienabo, inconsulto Romano pontifice. Sic me Deus adjuvet, et hæc sancta evangelia.

Lecta vero professione, archiepiscopus accipiat pallium in manibus suis, et statim incipiat cantor :

Te Deum.

Interim vero stet archiepiscopus coram altari, tenens pallium plicatum in manu sua, et accedant omnes fratres, a priore incipientes; et osculentur pallium cum reverentia.

Quibus expletis, et lotis pedibus archiepiscopi, præparet se archiepiscopus ad missam celebrandam, et indutus pontificalibus in vestiario, antequam pallio circumdetur, dicatur ab illo qui pallium detulit a curia Romana si episcopus fuerit, alioquin ab alio episcopo solemniori tunc præsente, hæc oratio :[4]

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[4] The Leofric MS. in the Bodleian contains: "*Orationes quæ dicendæ sunt super archiepiscopo, antequam palliam accipiat.*" I place them here, on account of the age and value of that manuscript.

"Deus, omnipotens Pater, qui non propriis suffragantibus meritis, sed sola ineffabili, *etc.*

"*Alia.*

"Deus, innocentiæ restitutor et amator, dirige hunc famulum tuum, *ill.* Spiritus tui fervore, ut in fide inveniatur stabilis, et in operibus tuis efficax. Illumina eum lumine sapientiæ, munda eum et sanctifica, da ei consilium rectum, doctrinam sanctam, ut qui eum inter summos sacerdotes voluisti numerare, concede ut quod humano ore eum voluisti vocari, hoc in conspectu tuo per gratiam tuæ pietatis possit fieri, ut cum electis tuis æternæ vitæ beatitudinem percipere mereatur.

"*Sequitur oratio postquam acceptum fuerit.*

"Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, æterne Deus, Rex regum et Dominus dominantium, clementiam tuam humiliter exoramus

Domine Deus, Pater omnipotens, qui sola ineffabili gratiæ tuæ largitate hunc famulum tuum .*N.* populo tuo præesse jussisti: tribue ei, quæsumus, per gratiam Sancti Spiritus tui, digne tibi persolvere ministerium officii sacerdotalis, ecclesiasticis convenienter servire sacramentis, plebemque sibi commissam ad gloriam tui sancti nominis digne gubernare. Per Dominum. In unitate.

Qua dicta, ponatur ei pallium super humeros, dicente episcopo:

Accipe pallium summi sacerdotii Domini Dei tui signum, per quod undique vallatus atque munitus, valeas

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necnon et Unigeniti Filii tui Domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui omnes æterno pontificatu superemineus, solus sine macula sacerdotale ministerium implevit; simulque Sancti Spiritus, cujus septiformi gratia cœlesti virtute cuncta sanctificas, ut hunc famulum tuum, *ill.* divinæ providentiæ gratia largiente, a minoribus usque ad majora per gradus ascendentem, supernæ pietatis tuæ gremio gratanter suscipias, et quia nobis indignis, quos sedis apostolicæ summæque ministros servitutis, non exigentibus meritis sed dono clementiæ constituisti, salutaribus indumentis ad sacri altaris officium foras vestitus in præsenti apparet, ab omnibus criminum contagiis castigatus, perpetua spiritus tui sanctificatione intus impleri mereatur, vivique fontis fluentibus irrigatum, virtutum fructibus crescere, et coram omnibus clarescere concedas, ut ejus vita aliis possit exempla præbere. Sit ei honor pallii ornamentum animæ, et unde advenit fastigium visibile, inde florescat amor invisibilis. Tua divina potentia eum corroboret, tui Filii virtus viscera ejus fœcundet, tui Spiritus gratia interiora ejus impleat, per te firmitatem fidei catholicæ, non solum sibimet servandi sed etiam alios docendi causa, conservet. Per te cathedræ episcopalis et ecclesiæ universalis scutum non solum a spiritualibus, sed etiam a corporalibus hujus sæculi adversitatibus, habere mereatur. Per te apostolicæ dignitatis, in cœlis et in terris solvendi et ligandi, non solum corpora sed et animas, divina ditatus gratia, dominium suscipiat; ut ita dignis successibus devote degens, ad destinata sanctis præmia perveniens, æternam accipiat beatitudinem. Per."

hostis humani tentamentis resistere, et omnes insidias ejus a penetralibus cordis tui, divino munimine fultus, procul abjicere: præstante Domino nostro, Jesu Christo, qui vivit et regnat Deus, per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.[5]

His peractis, archiepiscopus pontificalibus indutus in vestiario, et pallio redimitus cum tribus diaconis, et

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[5] In this form, we find no notice of that extraordinary claim which has been introduced into the modern pontifical of the church of Rome. Whatever may have been the actual practice of the primate of the English Church during the two or three centuries immediately preceding the reformation, the office appointed at the reception of the pall, did not recognize any other signification of it, in the Form at its delivery, than the ancient one of a mark of honour and dignity. But that the reader may the better see the distinction, which I am remarking, it will be well to transcribe the corresponding part of the present order of the church of Rome: which, although not adopted in England, is to be traced, it is said, to the authority of Innocent III.

"Ad honorem omnipotentis Dei, et beatæ Mariæ, —— —— tradimus tibi pallium de corpore beati Petri sumptum, in quo est plenitudo pontificalis officii, cum patriarchalis *vel* archiepiscopalis nominis appellatione, *etc.*"

With respect to this, the Roman theologians are obliged to confess, that there is not a shadow of any proof of such a claim, or pretence, as that the jurisdiction of a metropolitan depends upon his reception of the pall, to be found in the first centuries after its adoption at all, in any way: not to speak of the ages preceding, during which we hear nothing of the pall. And to such an extent is this usurpation of the court of Rome now pressed, that an archbishop or metropolitan, although consecrated, cannot perform any of those duties, which are peculiar to, or characteristic of, his office: he cannot consecrate a church (for example,) or confer orders. In fact, if he has been previously a bishop, and is translated to this higher dignity, the effect is, that for a time, until he has obtained his pall, he is suspended: and so far from obtaining at once increased power and authority, even that which he had is certainly taken from him for a season, and, if any difficulties are interposed, it can be regained only after a long delay, and trouble, and expense.

tribus subdiaconis, chorum intrabit. Et ex tunc omnia fiant, prout supra notantur, quando archiepiscopus pallium a sede apostolica personaliter recepit.

In quibus diebus[6] *archiepiscopus debet uti pallio, cum celebraverit in sua provincia, videlicet;*

In die nativitatis Domini.
In festo sancti Stephani.
In festo sancti Johannis.
In circumcisione Domini.
In epiphania Domini.
In dominica in ramis palmarum.
In cœna Domini.
Sabbato sancto Paschæ.
In die Paschæ et in secunda (et) tertia feria.
In ascensione Domini.
In die Pentecostes et in secunda et quarta feria sequente.
In nativitate sancti Johannis Baptistæ.
In festis omnium Apostolorum.
In tribus festis beatæ Mariæ.
In festo omnium Sanctorum.
In dedicatione ecclesiarum.
In principalibus festivitatibus ecclesiæ suæ.
In ordinatione clericorum.
In consecratione episcoporum.
In die anniversarii suæ consecrationis.

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[6] In the epistles and briefs of the Roman pontiffs, there is a great variety observable, in the days upon which they conceded to various metropolitans the privilege of wearing the pall. Some of these occasions would be "proper" to the church or person in whose favour they were granted: for example, in the present case, the principal feasts of the church of Canterbury, and the anniversary of the archbishop's consecration, or "natal day," as it was sometimes called.

Qualiter processiones fiunt causa venerationis, scilicet ad suscipiendum Archiepiscopum, proprium Episcopum, Legatum vel Cardinalem, Regem vel Reginam.

Ordo ad recipiendum processionaliter Praelatum, etc.

FIUNT *autem quædam processiones venerationis causa ad suscipiendum archiepiscopum, proprium episcopum, legatum vel cardinalem, regem vel reginam, quæ eodem modo et habitu ordinantur per omnia quo in die nativitatis Domini. Procedunt autem per medium chori et ecclesiæ, per ostium occidentale usque ad locum destinatum, ibique ad personam suscipiendum in processione duæ excellentiores personæ in capis sericis in revertendo suscipiant post thurificationem et aquæ benedictæ aspersionem, cantore incipiente responsorium: videlicet, contra archiepiscopum, proprium episcopum, legatum vel cardinalem, dicatur responsorium:*

Summæ Trinitati.

Contra regem dicatur resp:

Honor virtus.

Contra reginam resp:

Regnum mundi.

Eadem quoque via qua accesserint, usque ad gradum altaris adducant. Finito responsorio cum suo versu, a toto choro sequatur:

Kyrieleyson. Christeleyson. Kyrieleyson.

Pater noster.

Deinde super archiepiscopum, proprium episcopum, vel legatum, vel cardinalem, cum prosternant se in oratione ad gradum altaris, dicat episcopus in capa serica:

Et ne nos inducas.

Salvum fac servum tuum, Domine.
Mitte ei, Domine, auxilium de sancto.
Nihil proficiat inimicus in eo.
Esto ei, Domine, turris fortitudinis.
Domine exaudi.
Dominus vobiscum.
Oremus.

Concede, quæsumus Domine, famulo tuo metropolitano nostro, *vel* episcopo, *vel* prælato, ut prædicando et exercendo quæ recta sunt, exemplo bonorum operum animas suorum instruat subditorum, et æternæ remunerationis mercedem a te, piissimo pastore, percipiat: per Christum Dominum nostrum.

Super regem, vel reginam, in prostratione ad gradum altaris, dicat episcopus in capa serica:

Et ne nos.
Esto nobis, Domine, turris.
Domine, salvum fac regem, *vel,* ancillam tuam.
Mitte eis Domine.
Nihil proficiat.
Domine, Deus virtutum, converte nos.
Domine exaudi.
Dominus vobiscum.
Oremus.

Deus, in cujus manu corda sunt regum, qui es humilium consolator et fidelium fortitudo, et protector omnium in te sperantium: da regi nostro, et reginæ, populoque Christiano, triumphum virtutis tuæ scienter excolere, ut per te semper reparentur ad veniam. Per Christum Dominum nostrum.

Reconciliatio Ecclesiae pollutae,
sive Coemeterii.

Reconciliatio Ecclesiae vel Coemeterii.

IN reconciliatione ecclesiæ,[1] *sive cœmeterii, vel alterius loci sacri, ubi sanguis fuerit effusus, aut homicidium factum, aut aliqua spurcitia publice perpetrata.*

Primo ordinentur vasa cum aqua, et cætera vasa convenientia ad deferendam aquam, sal, cinis, vinum: et induat se extra ut supra in dedicatione cœmeterii, dicendo psalmos qui in consecratione ecclesiæ intitulantur, cum precibus et oratione:

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[1] Both the Bangor and the Exeter pontificals contain this office: with few and not important variations: some of which I shall notice, as we proceed.

The first rubric of the Bangor MS. commences as in the text: it is much defaced and rubbed. After the word "perpetrata," it continues: "Primo ante omnia nocte præcedente reconciliationem ecclesiæ vel altaris, asportentur reliquiæ cum cæteris sacris ab ecclesia profanata, et serventur in tentorio tota nocte cum vigiliis et excubiis dignis. Sed si cœmeterium sit tantum profanatum, nihil propter hoc ab ecclesia asportetur. Ipsa autem die reconciliationis, primo veniat episcopus ante ipsam ecclesiam, cum clero et populo ant. canendo sonora voce, 'Deus in sancto.'"

The Exeter MS. begins. "In reconciliatione ecclesiæ seu cœmeterii fiat tentorium honestum extra cœmeterium, si ecclesia fuerit polluta, a parte occidentali: si vero cœmeterium fuerit pollutum, paret se episcopus infra ecclesiam pontificalibus: et pro reconciliatione ecclesiæ præparentur sal, aqua, cineres, vinum, ysopus, scopa ad spargendum aquam. Episcopo vero induto pontificalibus, sicut in dedicationibus ecclesiarum solet indui, et egrediente de tentorio, cantetur a choro antiphona: 'Deus in sancto.'"

Deus, qui paterna *etc.*

Post hæc veniat episcopus cum baculo pastorali, ornatus amictu, alba, stola, pluviali, et capa de bisso i. e. bokeram, et mitra simplici, et baculo, sine manipulo.

In eundo versus ecclesiam vel cœmeterium cantatur hæc antiphona:

Deus in sancto via tua; quis Deus magnus sicut Deus noster? tu es Deus qui facis mirabilia solus.

Psalmus: Viderunt te aquæ.

Et ante ipsam ecclesiam veniens, vel cœmeterium, deposita mitra, dicat episcopus hanc orationem.

Oremus.

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui sacerdotibus tuis præ cæteris tantam gratiam contulisti, ut quicquid in tuo nomine digne perfecteque ab eis agitur, a te fieri credatur, quæsumus immensam clementiam tuam, ut quod modo visitaturi sumus visites, et quicquid benedicturi sumus bene✠dicas, sitque ad nostræ humilitatis introitum, sanctorum tuorum meritis, fuga dæmonum, angeli pacis ingressus, per Christum.

Oratio.

Aufer a nobis, Domine quæsumus, omnes iniquitates nostras, ut ad loca nomini tuo purificanda puris mereamur mentibus accedere, per Dominum nostrum.

Tunc intret episcopus ecclesiam, si sit reconcilianda, vel cœmeterium, choro canente hanc antiphonam: Pax huic domui, *vel* loco,[2] et omnibus habitantibus in ea, *vel* eo, pax ingredientibus et egredientibus. Alleluia.

Et veniens coram cruce in ecclesia, vel infra cœme-

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[2] "Si solum cœmeterium sit reconciliandum, omittenda est illa antiphona, 'Pax' cum psalmo." *Rubr. pontif. Exon.* The Bangor MS. does not state this, but evidently contemplates that the antiphon should be said only at the reconciliation of a church.

terium in occidente, accumbat ibi super faldistorium, dum dicitur litania,[3] *ut supra in ordinibus.*

Et cum ventum fuerit ad versum, qui pro domino episcopo cantatur, surgat episcopus, et dicat :

Ut ecclesiam istam *vel* cœmeterium istud reconciliare digneris.

Te rogamus.

Ut ecclesiam istam *vel* cœmeterium istud reconciliare et mundare digneris.

Te rogamus.

Ut ecclesiam istam *vel* cœmeterium istud reconciliare, mundare, et sanctificare digneris.

Te rogamus.

Interim prosternat se episcopus, et cantores percantent litaniam usque in finem. Qua finita, surgat episcopus, ibidem deposita mitra, et dicat :

Oremus.

Diaconus. Flectamus genua. Levate.

Oratio :

Deus, qui peccati veteris hæreditariam mortem, in qua posteritatis genus omne successerat, Christi, Filii tui, Domini nostri passione solvisti, dona propitius, ut conformes ejusdem facti, sicut imaginem terreni parentis naturæ necessitate portavimus, ita imaginem cœlestis gratiæ sanctificatione portemus ejusdem Christi Domini nostri. Qui tecum vivit.

Postea dicat episcopus ter :

Deus in adjutorium meum intende.

Chorus respondeat sic :

Domine ad adjuvandum me festina. Gloria Patri *et* Sicut erat, *sine* Alleluia.

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[3] The Bangor pontifical does not direct the litany.

Postea fiat benedictio salis, aquæ, cinerum, et vini. Finita benedictione, si ecclesia sit, circumeat episcopus tribus vicibus intrinsecus, ter spargendo aquam benedictam cum sale, cinere, et vino primo per pavimentum: secundo in medio; tertio, in summitate parietis, ut supra in dedicatione ecclesiæ, ac præcipue in loco contaminato, incipiens qualibet vice ab occidente per boream ad partem orientalem, usque dum redeat per sinistram in occidentem, ad locum quo inceperit. Eodem modo fiat extrinsecus. Si fuerit cæmeterium, primo de remotiori parte, secundo in medio, tertio juxta ecclesiam circumeundo, et maxime in loco delicti, spargat aquam benedictam. Interim cantetur hæc antiphona a choro.

Antiphona.

Asperges me, Domine, hyssopo et mundabor: lavabis me, et super nivem dealbabor.

Psalmus. Miserere mei Deus. *Et dicatur sine,* Gloria Patri.

Et post unumquemque versum repetatur antiphona, Asperges me.

Deinde rediens ad locum primum ubi litaniam dixerit, dicat istam orationem, sine Oremus.

Oratio.

Deum indultorem criminum, Deum sordium mundatorem, Deum qui concretum originalibus peccatis mundum adventus sui nitore purificavit, supplices deprecemur, ut contra diaboli furentis insidias fortis nobis pugnator assistat, et quicquid ejus virosa calliditate quotidianisque infestationibus maculatum hic corruptumque fuerit, efficiatur cœlesti sanctificatione ac mundatione purgatum; quia sicut illius est solidum perfectumque quassare, ita auctoris nostri est lapsa restaurare et corrupta purgare; cujus majestatem precamur, ut hic locus fiat ab omni pollutione purga-

tus, et sanctificatus, atque in priorem statum restitutus, et reconciliatus, ac sacratus: *terminando submisse*, per eum, qui in Trinitate perfecta vivit, et gloriatur, Deus: Per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Dominus vobiscum.

Et cum spiritu tuo.

Sursum corda.

Habemus ad Dominum.

Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro.

Dignum et justum est.

Vere dignum et justum est, æquum et salutare, nos tibi semper et ubique gratias agere, Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, æterne Deus. Cujus bonitas[4] nec principium nec finem habet, cujus est polluta purgare, neglecta restaurare, ædificia reædificare: exaudi orationes nostras, ut hujus loci receptaculum placatus accipias: et altare tuum *vel* ecclesiam tuam, *vel* cœmeterium tuum, quod infestantis diaboli fraude est pollutum, per infusionem gratiæ cœlestis sancti ✠ fices, puri ✠ fices, purificatumque possideas. Nihil hic, quæsumus Domine, postmodum noceat præteriti culpa contagii, nihil sit quod maneat inimici fraude pollutum. Resurgat vero hujus loci pura simplicitas, et candor innocentiæ pristinæ immaculatus, et dum recipit gratiam, revertatur ad gloriam. Quatenus hic populorum turba conveniens, dum petitionis ingerit vota, votorum se sentiat obtinuisse suffragia: *Terminando secrete*, Per Dominum nostrum, Jesum

[4] The proper preface appointed in the Bangor and Exeter pontificals is different from this, and much longer: and both those manuscripts agree in saying, "Cujus bonitas, &c." not as a preface, but as a prayer: the Bangor after and the Exeter before, the preface.

The pontificals vary also in their arrangement of the prayers which succeed.

Christum, Filium tuum, qui tecum vivit et regnat in unitate Spiritus Sancti, Deus, per omnia sæcula sæculorum.

Resp. Amen.

Postea circumeat episcopus ecclesiam intrinsecus ter cum incenso, eodem modo incensando quo asperserit aquam, incipiens qualibet vice ab occidente per boream ad partem orientalem, usque dum redeat per sinistram in occidentem ad locum ubi inceperit. Si fuerit cœmeterium, ter circumeat episcopus cum incenso, primo in remotiori parte, secundo in media, tertio juxta ecclesiam et maxime in loco delicti.

Interim cantetur hæc antiphona a choro:

Exurgat Deus, ad nostri famulatus obsequium, et in loco sancto ejus fiat benedictionis augmentum.

Psalmus. Exurgat Deus.

Totus psalmus dicatur, et repetatur antiphona post unumquemque versum psalmi, si necesse fuerit.

His peractis, eat episcopus ad primum locum, et ibidem stando dicat hanc orationem:

Deus qui in sanctis habitans, supernæ moderamine pietatis, terram mundus mundam formasti, quam etiam primi prævaricatoris de supernis ejecti sedibus suggestione maculatam priscis misertus paradisi quos creasti accolis, pii effusione cruoris ac proprii ab omni antiquæ prævaricationis contagio mundare et abstergere dignatus es: quæsumus immensam pietatem tuam, ut hanc ecclesiam, *vel*, ut hoc cœmeterium, quod, *vel*, quam, prius tua sanctificatione sanctificare voluisti, quamvis jam ejusdem nævo prævaricatoris maculatam, tua cœlesti bene✠dictione bene✠dicas: ut qui sub timore et amore tui nominis, ad hoc oratorium pro impetranda suorum venia peccatorum convenerint, *vel*, in hoc cœmeterio sepulti fuerint, se in perpetuum om-

nium veniam peccatorum impetrare gaudeant, et gaudia percipere sempiterna lætentur. Per Dominum.[5]

Deinde eat pontifex in ecclesiam, et ibidem cantetur hæc antiphona, licet cœmeterium tantum sit reconciliatum.

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[5] The Bangor pontifical appoints various ceremonies here, which the other MSS. do not notice.

" *Tunc elevata manu benedicat sanctam ecclesiam, vel sanctum cœmeterium.*

" Benedictio Dei. *etc.*

" *Deinde reportentur reliquiæ ad ecclesiam psallendo antiphonam:*

" Sanctum est verum lumen.

" *Deinde eat pontifex cum clero et populo ad eum locum in quo reliquiæ nocte præterita cum vigiliis fuerint: et dicat in introitu tentorii hanc orationem:*

" Aufer a nobis, Domine quæsumus, iniquitates nostras, ut in sancta sanctorum puris mentibus mereamur introire. Per.

" *Post ingressum autem tentorii, clerus cantet ibi, ant.*

" O quam gloriosum.

" *Finita ant. sequitur oratio:*

" Fac, quæsumus Domine, nos sanctorum tuorum specialiter dicata membra contingere, quorum cupimus patrocinia incessanter habere. Per.

" *Tunc leventur reliquiæ cum honore et laudibus; cum cruce, thuribulis, et luminaribus: et exeant omnes canendo antiphonam:*

" Cum jocunditate exibitis.

" *Donec perveniant ad ostium. Hic ante ingressum ecclesiæ habeat pontifex ad ostium, facto silentio, verbum ad plebem, de honore ecclesiastico, de decimis, et oblationibus ecclesiarum: ac de ipsius ecclesiæ reconciliatione. Ipse autem dominus et constructor ipsius ecclesiæ admoneatur de dote illius, et qualem honorem ecclesiæ et presbyteris debeat exhibere. Illo autem profitente se jussa pontificis impleturum, dicat pontifex præ foribus hanc orationem, signans ostium, et ecclesiam:*

" Domum tuam, quæsumus Domine, clementer ingredere: et in tuorum cordibus fidelium perpetuam construe mansionem: et præsta, ut domus hæc quæ tua subsistit reconciliatione solemnis, tua fiat habitatione sublimis. Per."

A certain number of antiphons are then appointed to be sung, until the procession reaches the altar: where the relics are directed to be again deposited by the bishop, with the usual prayers. Then succeeds the prayer "Deus, qui ecclesiam:" followed by another, (the Preface repeated) "Deus, cujus bonitas," with which the Office in that manuscript concludes.

Confirma hoc, Deus, quod operatus es in nobis, a templo sancto tuo quod est in Jerusalem.

Psalmus. Narrabo nomen tuum fratribus meis: in medio ecclesiæ laudabo te.

Qui timetis Dominum, laudate eum: universum semen Jacob glorificate eum.

Timeat eum omne semen Israel: quoniam non sprevit neque despexit deprecationem pauperis.

Nec avertit faciem suam a me: et cum clamarem ad eum exaudivit me.

Gloria Patri.

Repetatur antiphona.

Oremus.

Deus, qui ecclesiam tuam de omnibus mundi finibus congregatam, per tui lateris admirabile sacramentum cunctarum gentium matrem esse dixisti, quam etiam populorum varietate depictam martyrum tuorum meritis decorasti: benedic ✠, Domine quæsumus, sanctorum tuorum opitulante suffragio, tam altare quod eorum exornatur, te juvante, reliquiis, quam ecclesiam, atque fidelium tuorum vota offerentium sanctifica: qui vivis.

Sequitur benedictio elevata manu, per longum et latum loci, dicens:

Benedictio Dei ✠ Patris omnipotentis, ingeniti Filiique ✠ ipsius unigeniti, necnon Sancti ✠ Spiritus Paracliti ab utroque procedentis, maneat jugiter super ecclesiam istam, *vel*, cœmeterium istud, in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Postea dicat episcopus missam de reconciliatione. Si cœmeterium sit, dicatur missa:

Requiem æternam.

Si ecclesia sit, dicatur hæc missa.

Officium.

Dum sanctificatus fuero in vobis, congregabo vos de universis terris, et effundam super vos aquam mundam, et mundabimini ab omnibus inquinamentis vestris, et dabo vobis spiritum novum.

In tempore paschali: Alleluia.

Psalmus.

Benedicam Dominum in omni tempore: semper laus ejus in ore meo.

Oratio.

Deus, qui dixisti, domus mea domus orationis vocabitur, domum istam alienis offensionibus contaminatam mundare et sanctificare digneris, ut omnium preces et vota in hoc loco ad te clamantium clementer exaudias, et benigne perficias: per Dominum.

Epistola.

Ecce ego Johannes.

Resp. in dedicatione ecclesiæ.

Graduale. Tollite hostias et introite in atria ejus: adorate Dominum in aula sancta ejus.

Versus. Revelavit Dominus condensa, et in templo ejus omnes dicent gloriam. Alleluia.

Versus. Adorabo ad templum sanctum tuum, et confitebor nomini tuo.

Si infra Septuagesimam evenerit, dicatur tractus.

Laudate Dominum omnes gentes, et collaudate eum omnes populi.

Versus.

Quoniam confirmata est super nos misericordia ejus, et veritas Domini manet in æternum.

Secundum Lucam:

In illo tempore; dixit Jesus discipulis suis, non est arbor bona quæ facit fructus malos.

Offertorium.

Oravi Deum meum ego Daniel dicens, exaudi, Do-

mine, preces servi tui, illumina faciem tuam super sanctuarium tuum, et propitius intende populum istum super quem invocatum est nomen tuum, Deus.

In tempore paschali: Alleluia.

Secretum.

Hæc hostia, quæsumus Domine, et locum istum ab immunditiis iniquorum vel patratæ offensionis expurget, et supplicationes nostras hic et ubique tibi reddat acceptas. Per Dominum.

Benedictio episcopalis.

Omnipotens Deus universa a nobis et ab hoc templo *vel* cœmeterio adversa excludat; ac suæ super vos benedictionis dona propitiatus infundat. Amen.

Corda convenientium ad hanc reconciliationem efficiat sacris intenta doctrinis, quo possint repleri beneficiis sempiternis. Amen.

Quatenus exequenda intelligentes, et intellecta exequentes, inter adversa mundi ab omni sorde peccatorum purificati inveniamini incolumes, et beatorum spirituum efficiamini in cœlesti regno cohæredes. Amen.

Quod ipse.

Communio.

Acceptabis sacrificium justitiæ, oblationes, et holocausta, super altare tuum, Domine.

In tempore paschali: Alleluia.

Postcommunio.

Percipientes, Domine, munera salutis æternæ, te supplices exoramus, ut templum hoc *vel* cœmeterium a barbarorum *vel* iniquorum inquinamentis emundatum, tua benedictione maneat sanctificatum, et pectora nostra, ab omni sorde vitiorum alienata, tibi devota semper assistant. Per Dominum.

Benedictiones diversae.

Benedictiones diversae.

I.—Vexillorum processionalium, vel militarium, benedictio.[1]

O*RATIO.*

Inclina, Domine Jesu, Salvator omnium et Redemptor, aures tuæ pietatis ad preces nostræ humilitatis, et per interventum beati Michaelis, archangeli tui, omniumque cœlestium virtutum, præsta nobis auxilium dexteræ tuæ, ut sicut be-

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[1] The following is from a printed form, published in 4to., London, 1838: but I am not aware under what authority.

"Prayers used at the consecration of regimental standards and colours.

"*The Lord's Prayer.*

"Our Father, *etc.*

"Almighty and most merciful Father, our shield and buckler, our protector and preserver, the strength of all that put their trust in thee. With profound reverence and humility, and under a deep sense of our unworthiness, but in an entire dependence upon thy compassion and loving kindness, we prostrate ourselves at thy footstool. 'Justice and Judgment are the habitation of thy seat, and Mercy and Truth go before thy Face.'

"We approach thee, O Father, and pray unto thee for the light of thy countenance upon us: and we beseech thee to incline thine ear unto our petition, and to hearken to the voice of our humble supplications.

"We implore thy blessing upon [*this Standard, or these Colours, as the case may be*] to be presented, this day, by ——,,—— to ——,,—— and, with all lowliness of mind, and humility of spirit, we now consecrate [*it, or them*] in thy Holy Name, to the cause of Peace and Happiness, Truth and Justice, Religion and Piety.

"We pray that ——,,—— may always be borne by this Regiment as a token and pledge of their duty, fidelity, and honour; of their loyalty and zeal, their fortitude and valour, in the service of our most gracious Queen; and in the maintenance of our Holy Religion, our constitution,

nedixisti Abraham adversus quinque reges triumphantem, atque David regem in tui nominis laude triumphales congressus exercentem, ita bene✠dicere et sanc✠tificare digneris hoc vexillum, quod ob defensionem sanctæ ecclesiæ, contra hostilem rabiem defertur, quatenus in nomine tuo fideles et defensores populi tui illud sequentes, per virtutem sanctæ crucis triumphum, et victoriam, se ex hostibus acquisisse lætentur. Per te, Jesu Christe, qui cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto vivis et regnas Deus, per omnia sæcula sæculorum.

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and laws: and we beseech thee, O Father, that ——„—— may be as the ensign and banner of their Christian profession; and that they may put their hope, and trust, and confidence in thee the Lord of Hosts, without whose aid vain is the help of man.

"Finally, we pray that thy servants now before thee, and that all the forces of our Queen, throughout her dominions, for whom we are also bound to offer up prayers and supplications, may follow the example of the devout centurion; who, amidst the tumult of arms, "feared thee, with all his house;" and may not, at any time, be led aside from the path of duty by the crafty devices of the ungodly; but that in all their words and actions, and in their different ranks and stations, they may continually set thee before them, and bear in mind the solemn injunction, "to honour all men," to "love the brotherhood," to "fear God" and "honour the Queen."

"All this we ask through the merits of Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

"O Almighty God, by whom Kings reign and Princes decree justice, bless, we beseech thee, our most gracious sovereign lady, Queen Victoria, Adelaide the Queen Dowager, and all the Royal Family, with health, prosperity, and happiness; give them length of days, in peace, joy, and honour, here on earth; let thine arm be their protection, and thy wisdom their counsel and guide; and when, by the aid of thy Divine Spirit, they have walked according to thy righteous will, and finished their course in this world, crown them, we beseech thee, with everlasting life and glory in the kingdom of Heaven; we ask all in the name, and through the mediation of Jesus Christ, our Lord and Saviour. *Amen.*

"The Peace of God, etc."

Alia oratio.

Domine, Deus omnipotens, cui omnia possibilia sunt et nihil difficile est, bene✠dic vexillum istud, sicut benedixisti serpentem æneum in eremo hasta elevatum, quem quicunque vulneribus sauciati aspexerunt salvabantur, quia Unigenitum tuum post longa sæcula cruce elevandum hoc portendebat mysterium; et præsta ut omnes qui illud super se elevari viderint, a quacunque infirmitate et periculo et occursu malo liberentur. Bene✠dic etiam, Domine Deus, vexillum istud, sicut benedixisti dilectum puerum tuum David, cum adversus Philisten in funda et lapide congressus est, et Unigeniti tui virtutem, mundo quandoque venturam, suo præmonstravit prælio; adhuc te petimus, omnium dominator Domine, ut bene✠dicas illud, sicut benedixisti fluvium Jordanis, in quo Unigenitus tuus descendens, totius mundi maculas abolevit, et per baptismum omnes salvandos esse præostendebat, et quæ petere non presumimus aut quæ petendo impetrare non meremur, tu nobis concede propitius. Per eundem.

II. Benedictio novi sigilli episcopalis.

Oratio.

BENEDIC, Domine Jesu Christe, istud sigillum, in testimonium veritatis paratum, et concede per intercessionem beatæ Mariæ virginis et matris tuæ, et sanctorum apostolorum tuorum Petri et Pauli, ut et ipse in cujus officium et usum exercebitur, et qui ejus nomine eodem utentur, sic justitiæ et veritatis regulam teneant, et turpis lucri nemini respuant, ut pro temporali labore perpetuam a te mercedem consequi mereantur. Qui vivis.

Ad degradandum sacerdotes.

Ad restituendum degradatum.

Ad degradandum sacerdotes.[1]

PRIMO dicatur collatio ad terrorem facinoris, pro quo quis est degradandus: deinde episcopo in pontificalibus sedente cum suis ministris, et clero et populo sibi assistente veniat degradandus, indutus vestibus sacerdotalibus, cum

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[1] This form, and the "Epistle" which follows, are taken from the Exeter pontifical: neither the Salisbury, Bangor, nor Winchester manuscripts have any corresponding office. In the British Museum, the Cotton MS. Galba, E. iv. (a miscellaneous volume) contains a form of degradation, which I subjoin:

"*Forma degradandi clericum.*

"In primis criminosus coram diœceseos episcopo, adunato sibi legitimo seu canonico coepiscoporum numero, videlicet vj. episcopis in degradatione presbyteri, et tribus episcopis in degradatione aliorum clericorum, vel secundum modernum ecclesiæ tribus episcopis, si plures haberi nequeant. In degradatione presbyteri præsentetur criminosus, et contra ipsum juxta qualitatem perpetrati criminis, perpetuæ depositionis ab omni officio et beneficio ecclesiastico sententia proferatur, cum decreto degradationis a susceptis ordinibus subsequenter faciendo. Deinde coram prædictis episcopis superpellicio, stola, capa chori, chirothecis, annulo, et mitra indutis, et tenentibus baculos pastorales, depositus vestimentis congruentibus ordini suo indutus, in occidentali ostio ecclesiæ præsentetur. Et si presbyter fuerit, episcopis cum punctis baculorum sublevantibus casulam, dicat diœcesanus; 'Exauctorizamus, exuimus, et degradamus te. N. ab ordine sacerdotali:' ministris totaliter casulam extrahentibus. Postmodum ut prius sublevata stola dicatur; 'Exauctorizamus *etc.* ab ordine diaconali.' Deinde sublevato manipulo dicatur; 'Exauctorizamus *etc.* ab ordine subdiaconali.' Deinde sublevatis alba et amictu dicatur; 'Exauctorizamus *etc.* acolytatus.' Deinde sublevato superpellicio dicatur; 'Exauctorizamus *etc.* ab ordine psalmistatus.'" *Fol.* xxix.

Then follow various references to the canon-law: with the usual

dalmatica, tunica, cum calice, et patena, quam tenet in manibus coram episcopo.

Dicat episcopus:

Auctoritate omnipotentis Dei, Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, et beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli et ecclesiæ nobis commissa, auferimus tibi. N. habitum clericalem, et te ab omni sacerdotali et alio quovis ordine deponimus, et etiam degradamus, et exuimus te omni honore, et habitu, ac tonsura, et privilegio clericali.

In ablatione calicis et patenæ, dicat episcopus:

Auferimus tibi calicem et patenam, teque exuimus et privamus officio et potestate offerendi Deo sacrificium, et missam quamlibet celebrandi.

In remotione casulæ, dicat episcopus:

Auferimus tibi orarium, sive stolam sacerdotalem, cum jugum Domini, suave ab eo repræsentatum, portare contempseris, et stolam innocentiæ observare.

In remotione dalmaticæ, dicat episcopus:

Auferimus tibi dalmaticam, diaconalis officii ornamentum, cum ipsam non portaveris, indumentum lætitiæ, et vestimentum salutis.

In remotione tunicæ, dicat episcopus:

Auferimus tibi tunicam, subdiaconalis officii ornamentum, cum illa usus non fueris, ad justitiam et salutem.

In remotione manipuli, dicat episcopus:

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form of recommendation to the mercy of the secular power: and a statement that according to the above form, a priest was degraded in London, for forgery, upon the feast of S. Fabian and S. Sebastian, in the year 1277, in the presence and by the office of the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishops of London, Winchester, Worcester, Bath and Wells, Exeter, Chichester, Llandaff, S. Asaph, and Bangor.

Auferimus tibi manipulum, subdiaconatus officii ornamentum, teque exuimus et privamus ministerio designato in illo.

In remotione calicis et patenæ, urceoli aquæ, manutergii, dicat episcopus:

Auferimus tibi calicem, et patenam, urceolum, aquamanile, manutergium, subdiaconatus officii instrumenta, teque illorum usu exuimus et privamus ministerio designato in illis.

In remotione libri epistolarum, dicat episcopus:

Auferimus tibi librum epistolarum, teque exuimus et privamus officio luminaria in ecclesia Dei accendendi.

In remotione urceoli, dicat episcopus:

Auferimus tibi urceolum, ne de cætero illo utaris ad suggerendum vinum et aquam in Eucharistiam sanguinis Christi.

In remotione libri exorcismorum, dicat episcopus:

Auferimus tibi librum exorcismorum, teque privamus et exuimus potestate super energumenos, sive baptizatos, sive catechumenos, manus imponendi.

In remotione codicis, dicat episcopus:

Auferimus tibi codicem, quem cum lectoratus officio suscepisti, teque exuimus et privamus potestate illum legendi in ecclesia sancta Dei.

In remotione clavium, dicat episcopus:

Auferimus tibi claves ecclesiæ, teque exuimus et privamus officio et potestate custodiendi res quæ ipsis clavibus recluduntur, et portas etiam ecclesiæ aperiendi, sive claudendi.

In remotione primæ tonsuræ, dicat:

Auferimus tibi tonsuram et habitum clericalem, et exuimus et privamus te, et degradamus, ab omni honore, beneficio, ac privilegio clericali.

Et si sit tradendus brachio sæculari, dicat episcopus:

Pronunciamus et dicimus nobili viro A. de B. ut te miserum recipiat degradatum, et eum requirimus et rogamus in visceribus Jesu Christi, ut citra mortis periculum et membri mutilationem, suam circa te sententiam habeat moderare.

Ad restituendum degradatum.

E*PISTOLA cujusdam episcopi ad primatem suum ad restituendum degradatum.*

Sancto ac venerabili primati suo L. F. episcoporum humillimus, fidelitatis affectum et obsequium. De presbytero nostro ab alio episcopo pro pecunia ordinato, ex auctoritate sanctorum canonum tale vobis consilium dono: primum degradetur, deinde ab ecclesia separatus duobus annis severa pœnitentia mulctetur, ut honoris gradus quos pretio taxaverat, lachrymis conquerere et reparare contendat. Postea si digne pœnituerit, restauretur. Hoc vero diximus, cum in aliis locis sacris expresse invenietis, in concilio Toletano undecimo capitulo. Cæterum rebaptizationes, et reordinationes canones vetant: propterea depositum non reordinabitis, sed reddetis ei suos gradus per instrumenta et vestimenta, quæ ad ipsos gradus pertinent; ita dicendo: ‘Reddo tibi gradum ostiarii, *etc.* In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. Amen.’ Novissime autem benedictione lætificabitis eum, sic concludendo: ‘Benedictio Patris omnipotentis, et Filii,

et Spiritus Sancti, super te descendat, ut sis confirmatus in ordine sacerdotali, et offeras ei placabiles hostias pro peccatis, atque offensionibus, populi omnipotentis Dei, cui est honor et gloria in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.'

The Form of Healing.

The Office of consecrating Cramp-rings.

The Ceremonies for the Healing, of them that be diseased with the King's Evil, as they were practised in the time of King Henry VII.[1]

FIRST, *the king, kneeling, shall begin, and say:*

In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. Amen.

And so soon as he hath said that, he shall say:

Benedicite.

The chaplain kneeling before the king, having a stole about his neck, shall answer and say:

Dominus sit in corde tuo et labiis tuis, ad confitendum omnia peccata tua; in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. Amen.

Or else to say:

Jesus nos exaudiat, in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. Amen.

Then by and by the king shall say:

Confiteor Deo, beatæ Mariæ virgini, omnibus sanctis, and vobis, quia peccavi nimis in cogitatione, locutione et opere, mea culpa. Precor sanctam Mariam, omnes sanctos Dei, et vos orare pro me.

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[1] The full title of the book is; "The ceremonies us'd in the time of King Henry VII. for the Healing of them that be diseased with the King's Evil. Published by his Majesties command. London. Printed by *Henry Hills*, Printer to the King's most excellent Majesty for his houshold and chappel. 1686." 4to.

The chaplain shall answer and say:

Misereatur vestri omnipotens Deus, et demittat vobis omnia peccata vestra, liberet vos ab omni malo, salvet et confirmet in bono, et ad vitam perducat æternam. Amen.

Absolutionem et remissionem omnium peccatorum vestrorum, spatium veræ pœnitentiæ et emendationem vitæ, gratiam et consolationem Sancti Spiritus, tribuat vobis omnipotens et misericors Dominus. Amen.

This done, the chaplain shall say:

Dominus vobiscum.

The king shall answer:

Et cum spiritu tuo.

The chaplain:

Sequentia sancti evangelii secundum Marcum.

The king shall answer:

Gloria tibi, Domine.

The chaplain shall read the Gospel:

In illo tempore. Recumbentibus undecim discipulis apparuit illis Jesus: et exprobravit incredulitatem eorum, et duritiem cordis: quia iis, qui viderant eum resurrexisse, non crediderunt. Et dixit eis; euntes in mundum universum, prædicate evangelium omni creaturæ. Qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit, salvus erit: qui vero non crediderit, condemnabitur. Signa autem eos, qui crediderint, hæc sequentur; in nomine meo dæmonia ejicient: linguis loquentur novis: serpentes tollent: et si mortiferum quid biberint, non eis nocebit. Super ægros manus imponent, et bene habebunt.

Which clause, Super ægros, *etc. the chaplain repeats as long as the king is handling the sick person. And in the time of the repeating the aforesaid words,* Super ægros, *etc. the clerk of the closet shall kneel be-*

fore the king, having the sick person upon the right hand, and the sick person shall likewise kneel before the king: and then the king shall lay his hand upon the sore of the sick person.

This done, the chaplain shall make an end of the Gospel; and in the mean time the chirurgeon shall lead away the sick person from the king.

Et Dominus quidem Jesus, postquam locutus est eis, assumptus est in cœlum, et sedet a dextris Dei. Illi autem profecti prædicaverunt ubique, Domino cooperante, et sermonem confirmante, sequentibus signis.

Then the chaplain shall begin to say again:

Dominus vobiscum.

The king shall answer:

Et cum Spiritu tuo.

The chaplain:

Initium sancti evangelii secundum Joannem.

The king shall say:

Gloria tibi, Domine.

The chaplain then shall say this Gospel following:

In principio erat Verbum,——in hunc mundum.

Which last clause, Erat lux vera, *etc. shall still be repeated so long as the king shall be crossing the sore of the sick person with an Angel Noble: and the sick person to have the same Angel hanged about his neck, and to wear it until he be full whole.*

This done the chirurgeon shall lead away the sick person as he did before; and then the chaplain shall make an end of the Gospel:

In mundo erat, et mundus per ipsum factus est; ——— „ ———plenum gratiæ et veritatis.

Then the chaplain shall say:

Sit nomen Domini benedictum.

The king shall answer:

Et hoc nunc et usque in sæculum.

Then shall the chaplain say this collect following, praying for the sick person or persons:

Domine exaudi orationem meam.

The king shall answer:

Et clamor meus ad te veniat.

Oremus.

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, salus æterna credentium, exaudi nos pro famulis tuis, pro quibus misericordiæ tuæ imploramus auxilium, ut reddita sibi sanitate, gratiarum tibi in ecclesia tua referant actiones. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

This prayer is to be said secretly after the sick persons are departed from the king, at his pleasure.

Dominator Domine, Deus omnipotens, cujus benignitate, cœci vident, surdi audiunt, muti loquuntur, claudi ambulant, leprosi mundantur, omnes infirmorum curantur languores, et a quo solo donum sanationis humano generi etiam tribuitur, et tanta gratia pro incredibili tua erga hoc regnum bonitate, regibus ejusdem concessa est, ut sola manuum illorum impositione, morbus gravissimus fœtidissimusque depellatur, concede propitius ut tibi propterea gratias agamus, et pro isto singulari beneficio in nos collato, non nobis ipsis, sed nomini tuo assidue gloriam demus, nosque sic ad pietatem semper exerceamus, ut tuam nobis donatam gratiam non solum diligenter conservare, sed in dies magis magisque adaugere laboremus, et præsta, ut quorumcunque corporibus, in nomine tuo manus imposuerimus, hac tua virtute in illis operante et nobis ministrantibus, ad pristinam sanitatem restituantur, eam conservent, et pro eadem tibi, ut summo medico

et omnium morborum depulsori, perpetuo nobiscum gratias agant: sicque deinceps vitam instituant ut non corpus solum ab infirmitate, sed anima etiam a peccato omnino sanata videatur. Per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, Filium tuum, qui tecum vivit et regnat in unitate Sancti Spiritus per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

The Ceremonies of blessing Cramp-rings, on Good-Friday, used by the Catholick Kings of England.

THE psalme "Deus misereatur nostri, etc," with the "Gloria Patri."

May God take pity upon us and blesse us: may he send forth the light of his face upon us, and take pity on us.

That we may know thy ways on earth: among all nations thy salvation.

May people acknowledge Thee, O God: may all people acknowledge Thee.

Let Nations reioice and be glad, because thou iudgest people with equity: and doest guide Nations on the Earth.

May people acknowledge Thee, O God, may all people acknowledge Thee: the Earth has sent forth her fruit.

May God blesse us, that God who is ours: may that God blesse us: and may all the bounds of the Earth feare him.

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son: and to the holy Ghost.

As it was in the beginning, and now, and ever: and for ever, and ever. Amen.

Then the King reades this prayer:

Almighty eternal God, who by the most copious gifts of thy grace flowing from the unexhausted fountain of thy bounty, hast been graciously pleased for the comfort of Mankind, continually to grant us many,

and various means to relieve us in our miseries, and art willing to make those the instruments and channels of thy gifts, and to grace those persons with more excellent favours, whom Thou hast raised to the Royal dignity; to the end that as by Thee they reign, and govern others; so by Thee they may prove beneficial to them, and bestow thy favours on the People; graciously heare our prayers and favourably receive those vows we powre forth with humility, that Thou mayest grant to us, who beg with the same confidence the favour, which our Ancestors by their hopes in thy mercy have obteined, through Christ our Lord. Amen.

The Rings lying in one bason, or more, this Prayer is to be said over them:

O God, the Maker of heavenly and earthly creatures, and the most gracious Restorer of Mankind, the Dispenser of spiritual Grace, and the origin of all blessings; send downe from heaven thy holy Spirit, the Comforter, upon these Rings, artificially fram'd by the workman, and by thy greate power purify them so, that all the malice of the fowle, and venomous Serpent be driven out; and so the Metal, which by Thee was created, may remaine pure and free from all dregs of the Enemy, through Christ our Lord. Amen.

The blessing of the Rings.

O God of Abraham, God of Isaac, God of Jacob, heare mercifully our prayers. Spare those, who feare Thee. Be propitious to thy Suppliants, and graciously be pleased to send downe from heaven thy holy Angel; that he may sanctify ✠ and blesse ✠ these rings; to the end they may prove a healthy remedy to such, as implore thy Name with humility, and ac-

cuse themselves of the Sins, which ly upon their conscience; who deplore their crimes in the sight of thy divine Clemency, and beseech with earnestnes, and humility, thy most serene Piety. May they in fine by the invocation of thy holy name become profitable to all such as weare them, for the health of their soule and body, through Christ our Lord. Amen.

A Blessing.

O God, who hast manifested the greatest wonders of thy Power by the cure of diseases, and who were pleased that Rings should be a pledge of fidelity in the Patriark Judah, a Priestly Ornament in Aaron, the mark of a faithful Guardian in Darius, and in this Kingdom a remedy for divers diseases: graciously be pleased to blesse ✠ and sanctify ✠ these Rings, to the end that all such, who weare them may be free from all snares of the Devil, may be defended by the power of celestial armour, and that no contraction of the nerves, or any danger of the falling-sickness may infest them, but that in all sort of diseases by thy help they may find relief. In the name of the Father, ✠ and of the Son ✠ and of the holy Ghost ✠. Amen.

Blesse, O my Soule, the Lord: and let all things which are within me praise his holy name.

Blesse, O my Soule, the Lord: and do not forget all his favours.

He forgives all thy iniquities: he heales all thy infirmities.

He redeemes thy life from ruin: he crownes thee with mercy and commiseration.

He fils thy desires with what is good: thy youth like that of the eagle shal be renewed.

The Lord is he who does mercy: and does iustice to those, who suffer wrong.

The merciful and pitying Lord: the long sufferer, and most mighty merciful.

He will not continue his anger for ever: neither wil he threaten for ever.

He has not dealt with us in proportion to our sins: nor has he rendred unto us according to our offences.

Because according to the distance of heaven from Earth: so has he enforced his mercies upon those who feare him.

As far distant as the East is from the West: so far has he divided our offences from us.

After the manner that a Father takes pity of his sons; so has the Lord taken pity of those, who feare him: because he knows what we are made of.

He remembers that we are but dust; Man like hey such are his days: like the flower in the field, so wil he fade away.

Because his breath wil passe away through him, and he wil not be able to subsist: and it wil find no longer its owne place.

But the mercy of the Lord is from all eternity: and will be for ever upon those, who feare him.

And his iustice comes upon the children of their children: to those who keep his wil.

And are mindful of his commandements: to performe them.

The Lord in heaven has prepared himselfe a Throne: and his kingdom shall reign over all.

Blesse yee the Lord all yee Angels of his, yee who are powerful in strength: who execute his commands, at the hearing of his voice when he speakes.

Blesse yee the Lord all yee Vertues of his: yee Ministers who execute his wil.

Blesse yee the Lord all yee works of his throughout

all places of his Dominion: my Soule praise thou the Lord.

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son: and to the holy Ghost.

As it was in the beginning, and now and ever: and for ever and ever. Amen:

Wee humbly implore, O merciful God, thy infinit clemency; that as we come to Thee with a confident soule, and sincere faith, and a pious assurance of mind; with the like devotion thy Beleevers may follow on these tokens of thy grace. May all superstition be banished hence, far be all suspicion of any diabolical fraud, and to the glory of thy name let all things succeede; to the end thy Beleevers may understand Thee to be the Dispenser of all good; and may be sensible and publish, that whatsoever is profitable to soul or body, is derived from Thee: through Christ our Lord. Amen.

These prayers being said, the Kings highnes rubbeth the Rings between his hands, saying:

Sanctify, O Lord, these Rings, and graciously bedew them with the dew of thy benediction, and consecrate them by the rubbing of our hands, which thou hast been pleased according to our ministery to sanctify by an external effusion of holy oyle upon them; to the end that what the nature of the mettal is not able to performe, may be wrought by the greatnes of thy Grace: through Christ our Lord. Amen.

Then must holy water be cast on the Rings, saying:

In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the holy Ghost. Amen.

O Lord, the only begotten Son of God, Mediatour of God and men, Jesus Christ, in whose name alone salvation is sought for, and to such as hope in Thee

givest an easy acces to thy Father; who when conversing among men, thyself a Man, didst promise by an assured Oracle flowing from thy sacred Mouth, that thy Father should grant whatever was asked him in thy name; lend a gracious eare of pity to these prayers of ours; to the end that approaching with confidence to the Throne of thy grace, the Beleevers may find by the benefits conferrd upon them, that by thy mediation we have obteined, what we have most humbly beg'd in thy Name; who livest and reignest with God the Father, in the unity of the holy Ghost, one God, for ever and ever. Amen.

Wee beseech thee, O Lord, that the Spirit, which proceedes from Thee, may prevent and follow on our desires; to the end that what we beg with confidence for the good of the Faithful, we may efficaciously obteine by thy gracious gift: through Christ our Lord. Amen.

O most clement God; Father, Son, and holy Ghost; wee supplicate and beseech Thee, that what is here performed by pious Ceremonies, to the sanctifying of thy Name, may be prevalent to the defense of our soule and body on Earth; and profitable to a more ample felicity in heaven. Who livest and reignest God, world without end. Amen.

A Form of Bidding the Bedes.

The Form of Bidding the Bedes,
anciently used in the Cathedral Church of the Diocese of Salisbury.

DEINDE eat processio hoc ordine: procedat minister virgam manu gestans locum faciens processioni. Deinde puer in superpellicio cum aqua benedicta; deinde cæteri ministri juxta ordinem prædictum. Deinde pueri et clerici de secunda forma juxta ordinem quo disponuntur in capitulo, habitu non mutato; et exeat processio per ostium presbyterii septentrionale, circumiens presbyterium. Episcopus, si præsens fuerit, mitram gerat et baculum. In fine processionis sacerdos vero, sive episcopus præsens fuerit, sive non, in anteriori parte cum puero aquam deferente procedat, et in eundo singula altaria aspergat. In duplicibus tamen festis, quæ in dominicis contingunt, in procedendo altaria non aspergat. Deinde in australi parte per fontes venientes procedant ad crucem, sacerdote cum suis ministris prædictis in medio stante suo ordine, ita quod puer deferens aquam et acolytus stent ad gradum ante crucem. Quilibet autem clericus interesse potest processioni totius anni, licet nulli horæ diei præcedentis interfuit.

We shalle make oure prayers to God besechyng his mercy for alle holy churche, that god hit kepe in goode estate. In especial oure mother churche, this churche, and alle other in cristendome, ——— ,, ——— ——— ,, ——————— ,, ——————— ,, ——— For archybysshopes, and bysshopes, and in especial for my

lorde the bysshop of this see, that god hym kepe in his holy seruise: For my lorde y[e] dean, my masters the chanons, vikers, prestes, and clerkes, and alle other mynysters that this churche seruyth: For the holy land that god hit deliuer owte of hethen handes: For oure souerayne lorde the kyng, the queene, and alle her children, and alle other lordes, dukes, merkeises, herles, and barons, and alle tho that have this lond to gouerne: For the pees of thes landes yngland and Fraunce, that god make perpetual pees by twix hem. And for the goode estate of the lord verdon, now my lord therl of shrowysbury, that fyndyth contynuelly lyght at the hie auter ———,, ———,, ——— And for y[e] welfare of ———,, ——— and alle this churches frendes, oure brethern and sustern, and alle oure paresshens, wyth alle tho that any good dooth to this chirche, and alle trewe crystyn pepill: Pater noster.

Hic revertat se sacerdos et dicat: ps.

Deus misereatur nostri. *Ex utraque parte chori, cum* Gloria patri. *et* Sicut erat.

Sequator: Kyrieleyson. Christeleyson. Kyrieleyson.

Pater noster.

Deinde dicat sacerdos in audientia, sine nota:

Et ne nos.

Ostende nobis, Domine, misericordiam tuam.

Sacerdotes tui induantur justitiam.

Domine, salvum fac regem.

Salvos fac servos tuos, et ancillas tuas.

Salvum fac populum tuum, Domine, et benedic hæreditati tuæ.

Domine, fiat pax in virtute tua.

Domine, exaudi orationem meam.

Dominus vobiscum.

Oremus.

Oratio.

Deus qui caritatis dona, per gratiam Sancti Spiritus, tuorum cordibus fidelium infundis, da famulis et famulabus tuis, pro quibus tuam deprecamur clementiam, salutem mentis et corporis, ut te tota virtute diligant, et quæ tibi placita sunt tota dilectione perficiant, et pacem tuam nostris concede temporibus: Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

Item conversus ad populum, dicat sacerdos:

We shalle pray, and beseche god of his mercy for alle trewe crystyn sowles. In especial for alle bysshopes sowles, whos bodyes resteth in this holy place: For the bysshopes sowle Robert, the bysshops sowle Jocelyn, the bysshops sowle Herbert, the bysshops sowle Richarde, whiche bygan this chirche here, and first ordainid oure lady masse. For the bysshops sowle Robert, the bysshopes sowle William, the bysshops sowle Gyle, the bysshops sowle Water, The bishopps soule Robert, the bysshops soule Water, the bisshops sowle Herry, the bisshops soule William, the bisshops soule Nichol, the bisshops soule Symon, the bisshops soule Rogger, the bisshopes soule Robert, and for the bisshops soule William Edyngton that was bisshop of Wynchester, the bisshops soule, John Waltham, and for William's soule Wykham, that was bisshop of Wynchester: for the bysshop's soule Richard Medeford, for Thomas soule Arundelle that was archebishop of Canterbury, and for the Byschop sowle Robert Halum, the Byschop sowle Nichol Bubwyth that was Byschop of Bathe. And for herrys sowle Bewfort late Bysshop of Wynchester and Cardinal of Rome: for the Bysshop sowle John Chaundeler. And for the Bysshop sowle

William Ayscogh, and for the Byschop soule Rycharde Bewchamp, the Byschop soule James Goldwel, the Byschop soule John Blythe, the Byschop soule Thomas Langton that was bysshop of Wynchester, the Bischop soule Leouell, the Bischop soule Harry Shere, And for the Bysshop soule Edmunde Awdeley.

Whych Byschopys have in ther tyme wurchipped thys churche wythe precyous vestymentys, and many other Jewells.

For the soules of all deanes, chanons, vicars, prestes, and clerks, that thus churche served in ther liff. In especiall the deane soule Robert. The deane soule M. Gilbert Rymer, *etc.*

M. Thomas Holes. M. Rycharde Dudley.

M. John Baker. M. John Pryce.

And for the soules of all other mynysters of thus churche, which have served hit, or done eny gode therto in her dayes.

And on the secunde parte, we shall pray for all kyngis soules patrones of thus churche, and alle other lordes that have worshypped hit w^t her bodyes, Rentes or eny other iowels. And in especiall for the soules of the kyngis William Rowse, Herry the firste, king Stevyn, Herry the secunde, Richard the firste, Kynge John soule, and the kynge sowle Herry the thridde, the kynge soule Edward the firste, Edward the secunde, Edward the thridd. And for edwarde soule prynce of walys: Which yaff moche gode to the table of the hyghe auter: for the soule of kyng Richarde the secunde. And for the soules of the kynges Herry the fourthe, Herry the fifte, Herry the sixte, for the soule of kyng Edwarde the fourthe. And for the soule of king Henry the sevynth, Henry the eyghte, Edwarde the syxte.

For the Erles soule of Sarum William longespe: for Jamys soule sum tyme lorde of Audeleigh: for Johnys soule lorde Louel: Thomas soule Monteagu, erle of Sarum: for the soule of hubert of burgh, for water sowle lord hungerford. *etc.*

And for alle soules whos bonys restyth in this churche and churche yerde. And all tho that hath yeve to this churche, rentys, vestimentis, or othere goodys; whereby God is the more worshipped in this churche: and the mynysters thereof better susteyned: for all oure Brethern and Sistren soules, alle our pareshens soules. And for alle the soules that hath done eny good to this churche, and for alle crysten soules. Pater noster.

Hic revertat se sacerdos, et dicatur a choro alternatim supradicto modo hic psalmus, videlicet:

De profundis: *sine* Gloria Patri.

Sed cum:

Kyrie eleyson: Christe eleyson: Kyrie eleyson. Pater noster.

Deinde dicat sacerdos, sine nota:

Et ne nos inducas in tentationem.

Requiem æternam dona eis, Domine.

A porta inferi.

Credo videre bona Domini.

Dominus vobiscum.

Oremus.

Absolve, quæsumus Domine, animas famulorum tuorum, pontificum, regum, famulorum famularumque tuarum, et animas omnium fidelium defunctorum, ab omni vinculo delictorum; ut in resurrectionis gloria inter sanctos et electos tuos resuscitati respirent. Per Christum Dominum nostrum.

Requiescant in pace. Amen.

I.

Exhortation before Communion.

II.

Forms of Exhortation in Visitation of the Sick.

Exhortation before Communion.[1]

GOOD men and women, y charge yow by the Auctoryte of holy churche, that no man nother woman that this day proposyth here to be comenyd [*communicated*] that he go note to Godds bord, lase than he byleue stedfastlych, that the sacrament that he ys avysyd here to reseue, that yt ys Godds body, flesche and blode, yn the forme of bred; & that [*which*] he receyvythe afterward, ys no thyng ells but wyne & water, for to clense yowr mowthys of the holy sacrament. Furthermor, y charge yow that no man nother woman go to Godds borde, lase than he be of ys synnys clen confessyd, & for hem contryte; that ys to sey, hauyng sorow yn yowr herts, for yowre synnys. Furthermore, I charge yow yf ther be eny man or woman, that beryth yn his herte eny wrothe or rancor to eny of his evencristen [*fellow-christian*] that he be not ther howselyd, ther to the tyme that he be with hym yn perfyte love & cheryte, for ho so [*whoso*] beryth wrethe or evyll wyll yn herte, to eny of hys evencristen, he ys note worthy hys God to receyue; and yf he do, he reseyvythe his dampnacyon, where he schuld receyue his saluacion. Furthermore, y charge yow that none of yow go to Godds

[1] From Harleian MS. 2383. in the British Museum. This extract is preceded by a form of private confession; and followed by a long form of absolution in Latin: after which come a homily, and other miscellaneoüs matters.

The reader will observe the remarkable similarity of several of the sentences in this exhortation, with that ordered in our present Liturgy.

borde to day, lasse than he be yn full wyll & purpose for to sese and to withstond the deds of syn. For who proposyth now to contynue yn syn aȝene after hys holy tyme, he is note worthy to receyue his God; & yf he do hyt ys to hym grete perell. Furthermore, I charge all strangers bothe men and women, that none of yow go to godds borde, yn to tyme that ȝe haue spoke with me, other [*or*] with myn asynys. Furthermore, y charge yow bothe men and women that havythe servants, that ȝe takythe hede that they be well y gouernyd yn takyng of mets & drynks, for the perell that may be fall, thorow forfeytyng of mets & drynks, for yf he brakythe or castythe hit owte with yn a day & a nyȝthe that he take hit yn to a vessell and do hit yn the fyyr. Also I charge hym that he be confessyd therof a-morow. Also ȝe shall knell adown apon yowr kneys, seyyng after me, y cry God mercy, and our lady seynt mary, & all the holy company of hevyn, & my gostelyche fadyr, of all the trespasse of syn that y have don, in thowte, word, other [*or*] yn dede, fro the tyme that y was bore, yn to this tyme; that ys to say in Pryde, Envy, Wrethe, Slowthe, Covetyse, Gloteny, & Lechery. The v. Commawndements, dyuerse tymys y broke. The werks of mercy, note y fulfyllyd. My v. wytts mysse spend. *etc.* Misereatur vestri omnipotens Deus. *etc.*

Absolutionis forma.

Deus noster Jesus Christus, pro sua magna misericordia, *etc.*

A Form of Exhortation at visiting the Sick.[1]

TO comfort a man or a woman, yn her laste ende, a priste schulde sey3e thys. My dere frende, hit semyth that thou hyest faste owte of thys worlde, that ys so wrechyde, to the blysse of euer lastyng joy3e; therefore put onlyche all thyn herte, & all thy mynde, yn Almy3ty Gode that made the, & hathe y bou3te the wythe his preciouse blode; and be glade that thou schalte com to heuen; there ys all maner joy3e; where thou schalte se almy3tty Gode our Saueour yn hys Godhede, sothefaste Gode & man; and ye schalte y fynde & y se all blessyde seintts, that prayeth for vs euer more, and principally our lady seint Marye, and holy angels, the apostelys, martyres, & confessours, & virgins & all blessyd men and wemen, that buthe y passyde to heuen a fore vs; the whych Cryste our Saueour bou3te whyth hys preciouse blode apon the roode tree, and therefor they louyde all my3tty Gode our Saueour aboue all thynges; fore as the holy doctor seint Austyn telluthe, all thyngs that Cryste suffrede fore loue of mankynde, hyt was for loue that he hadde to saue mans soule. So as he sauyde the by loue, & for the suffrede an herde pascion, ware by thou schalte be saŭyde, loke that thou haue hys pascion yn mynde, and loue allm3ty Gode aboue all thyngs; for as seint Austyn seythe, so

[1] From M.S. Harleian. 2383: in the library of the British Museum.

as Cryste suffrede all thys for loue of the, thou arte moste y holde of all thyngs to loue hym; and therfor, my dere frende, loke that thou be yn stydfaste fey, what euer thou hyre or se; and put the onlych in to the mercye of Gode our Saueour, & drede the nouȝte of no thyng that thou haste y do: be sory for thy synnes, & schreue the clene, & thynke to synne no more. For seint Austyn seyȝt, the goodnesse & the mercy of all mygȝty Gode our Saueour ys so meche, that throw sorow of herte & schryfte of mouthe, wyllyng to do no more amysse, he forȝeue the clen his syn, for God hym sylfe seythe thus; what tyme that eny man ore woman for sakythe his synnes, and makuthe hym clen therof, he schall be sauyd: and holy doctours & blessyd seintts seythe, that God all myȝtty ys mor redy to ȝeue mercye than eny man or woman be for to axy. Austyn seythe, be the synne neuer so grete ne neuer so foule, and y wolde axe mercye of all myȝtty God our Saueour, thou schalte se saue [*sic*] thouȝe thou schulduste dey anon: therfor my der worthe frende, drede the nouȝte of dethe, but be glade as seint Austyn was when he schulde deyȝe; whan he seyde, welkome be thou dethe, for thou art ende of all wykkydnes of synnes & care & all wrechydnesse; and thou artt the begynnyng of all goodnesse of ever lastynge joyȝe, & blysse, & all blessydnes. And so he was glade to passye owt of thys wrechyd worlde, to the ioyfull blysse of heuen, there ys all blessyde company. And therfor, my dere brother, be gladde to passy to the blysse of heuen, for tho thou myȝȝttyste be lorde of all this wrechyd worlde, thou shuldyste be glad to passy to the blysse of heuen: for then thou schalt y se all myȝtty God our Saueour, and all blessyd company, & ther thou schalt y fynde all goodness: for as seint

Paule seythe, that is no herte that may thenke, nore no tonge may telle, all the goodnesse that God all myte our Saueour hathy ordeynyd to alle thukke men and wemen, that with all hur herte clen forsakuthe hur synnes, and loueth all myȝtty God our Saueour aboue all thyng: therefor, my dere frende, do thou so, and thou schalt com to the grete blysse of heuen, that euer schall laste, wythe owte ende. Amen, for charite.

De Visitatione Infirmorum.[1]

MY dere sone in God, thou hiest fast thi wai to Godward; there thou shalt see alle thi former faderis, apostils, martiris, confessoris, virginis, and alle men and wommen that be sauid. And therfor be of gode comfort in God, and thou must leyen a ston in the wal of cite of heuen witouten ani noise or strif. And therfor ar thou wenden out of this world, thou must make thi ston redi, and than shalt thu nouȝt be lette. ¶. The ston is thi soule wiche thou makest clene; the noise that thu must make here is the thinking of thi sinne, wyche thou must telle the prest; the stroke is penaunce, that thou shalt be sori for thi sinne, and smithe thiself on thi brest; and whan thou hast made redi thus thi ston, than may thou go thi wai in God, and lai thi ston sykerlie [*surely*] witoute noise in the cite of heuene; and therfor I counsail the, that thou schriue the clene, and make the redi. And this is nouȝt only to seke men but also to hole, for everi dai a man nehieth [*approacheth*] his deth ner and ner; and of a man it is seid, the more he wexith the more he unwexith, and therfor seith the gospel, Awake, for thu wost never whan oure God wil come; and therfor loke thu alwai be redi. And thu shalt wite, [*know*]

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[1] From a manuscript (No. 117, *fol.* 123. *b.*) in the library of St. John's College, Oxford.

I need scarcely desire the reader to compare this with the exhortations in our present Form of Visitation of the Sick.

gode man, that God visiteth mani man for his sinnes diversly; some wit prisoning, some wit diverse sekenes, and if the sinne were awai, than his sekenes shuld aslake. Hereof berith witnes the Gospel, that God seith thus to ten mesels [*lepers*], whan he had helid hem of here lepre, go, he said, and sinne no more on aunter thow falle wors, as who seith, for thowre sinne the had this sekenes. And therfor it is ordeined be the law, that ther shal no leche ȝeve no bodili medicine to a seke man, til he be helid gostli; and that he have take gostli medicine, that is to sai, schrift and housel; and if ȝe be wel schrive and veray repentaunt I drede nouȝt that the sekenes shal aslake wiche he hath for sinne, or ellis it shal turne him to more blisse after his deth; and therfor if his sekenes aslake nouȝt thou shalt comfort him on this maner.

How thou shalt comfort a man that he grucche [grudge] *nouȝt whan he is seke.*

Sone loueste thou thi Lord God? he wil sai, ȝe. Than thus, ȝf thou loue God, thou louest that He doith, and He skorgeth the, and therfor thou shalt gladli suffre it. Here of spekit Salamon, and seith, Sone speke nouȝt aȝen the chastising of thi fader, for it is no sone whom the fader chastisith nouȝt, and it acordith wit commine maner of speche. For if a man see anotheris child do schreudeli in his fader presence, and the fader chastised him nouȝt, than wold that othir man seie, it is nouȝt his sone, or ellis he loueth him nouȝt, for if he were his child or ellis loued him, he wold chastise him: and therfor be nouȝt evil afraide of thi Fadirs chastising of heuene, for he seith himself: whom I loue, him I chastise. Also sekenes of bodi makith soule hele [*health*], and soule hele is nouȝt but of God; therfor despice nought Godis

scorge, but whan God ponissche the, thanke him and loue him, that he emendith the, and undernemith [*judgeth*] the, and blameth the, and ponische the nouȝt in his wrath ne in his wodnes [*fury*], but in his grete mercy. Thank thi God, and thinke that his merci passeth alle his grete wreche; he is jugge, [?], he wil nouȝt damne the, but he wil haue merci on the. Mercifulli he chastise the, and ther [*where*] thou hast deservid for to have his wrath, and be damned for ever, he puttith ouer his veniaunce, and suffrith of his grete mercy, and ponische the here but awile, and therfor despice nouȝt his ȝerde [*rod*] of merci, ne grucche nouȝt ther aȝens, but suffre it gladli, for al the domis [*judgments*] of God ben rithful. Now sethen [*since*] sekenes of God is hele to the soule, and wille thou or nilt, thou shal haue hit, ȝif thou grucche aȝen God, and wit thi grucching thou makist thi soule more feble, and so thou profitist nouȝt to thiself wit thi grucching aȝen thi Fadir, wiche is thi leche, but greuist thiself on diuerses maners; on [*one*] is, that thou greuist thi God: another thou shalt nouȝt haue so miche gostly mede [*reward*] as thou shuldest, ȝif thou suffred deth pacientliche. And thou shalt knowe that God Fadir of heuene ponissche nout o [*one*] thing tuyes, and therfor wit a glad hert thou shalt suffre sekenes that God hathe sent the here, for it shal alegge [*allay*] the of the peyne of purgatorie, so that thou the more soner shal come to the kingdome of heuene. Thinke that if the king to whom thou hast ben tretour, forȝeuith the thi deth and ponische the but awile in esi prison, thou art michil hold to him. So thou art to God, to whom thou hast ben tretour, and he hath forȝiue the euerlasting deth, and ponisch-inge the wit a litul sekenes here.

ȝif a man be nie the deth, speke to him on this maner, and sai:

Man, ȝif thou thouȝthist and wel seie [*saw*] the mischeuis of this world, thou shuldest desire to dye and be wit God: holi writ seith, blessed be thei that die in God. Loke thi beginning of thi lif, care and sorwe; thi fothliuing, trauail and dene and disese, and so thu ledist thi lif. Now whether is it better, die wel or lif euele? Parde [*truly*] die wel, thou maist nouȝt lif [*live*] fulli wel be no wai in this wrecchid world, for holi writ seith, eueri man is a lier, that is to seie, sinful; and also it seith that seuen sithes in the dai fallith a rithfulman; and that seith Seint Poul, that no man liueth witout sum defaute; and seith thus to God; I desire to be dede and be wit God, for the wickidnes of this world mai no man telle. Here is hunger and thirst, cold and hete, trauail and werinesse, enuie and wrath, glotonie and lecherie, pride and slouthe, couetise and falsnesse, manslauȝther and thefte, and many other; and there is no man witoute alle these, that he ne hath som of these, for eueri man is sinful, and therfor those olde filosophurs maden euer sorwe when ere children were bore, and ioie whan thei died, and passid out of the wo of this world. And Seint Austin whan he shuld be ded, he spak to deth on this maner: A thou deth end of alle wickidnes, thou deth end of trauail, beginning of ese and alle ioie, what man mai bethenke the profitis and the blisses that thou bringist wit the? thou art desireful to me, for a Cristin may nouȝt euil die, but wel die, and lif [*live*] wit Criste.

Whan thou hast told him alle this, or ellis ȝif thou haue no time to sai alle for hast of deth, begin here, and

speke to him on this maner, whan thou seest that he neiheth [neareth] *the deth:*

Brother, art thou glad that thou shalt die in Cristin feith? *Resp.* ȝe.

Knowleche that thou hast nouȝt wel liued as thou shuldest? *Resp.* ȝe.

Art thou sori therfor? *Resp.* ȝe.

Hast thou wil to amend the, ȝif thou haddist space of lif? *Resp.* ȝe.

Leuist thou in God, Fader Almighti, Maker of heuene and of erthe? *Resp.* ȝe.

Leuist thou in the Fader and Sone and Holi Gost, thre persons and on [*one*] God? *Resp.* ȝe.

Leuist thou that oure Lord Jesus Crist Godis Sone of heuene was conseiuid of the Holi Gost, and toke flesche and blode of oure ladi seint Marie, and was borne of hir, she being moder and mayde? *Resp.* ȝe.

Leuist thou that he suffrid pine and deth, for oure trespas, and nouȝt for his gilt under Pounce Pilate, and that he was don on the cros, and died for the on god Fridai, and was buried? *Resp.* ȝe.

Thankest thou him therfor? *Resp.* ȝe.

Leuist thou that thou may nouȝt be sauid but throw his deth? *Resp.* ȝe.

Tunc dicat sacerdos:

Wil [*while*] thi soule is in thi bodi, put alle thi trust in his passion and in his deth, and thenke onli theron, and on non other thing. Wit his deth medil the, and wrappe the therinne, nouȝt thinking on thi wif, ne on thi children, ne on thi rychesse, but al on the passion of Crist, and haue the crosse [*crucifix*] to fore the, and sai thus:—I wot wel thou art nouȝt my God, but thou

art imagened aftir him, and makest me haue more minde of him after whom thou art imagened. Lord Fader of heuene, the deth of oure Lord Jhu Crist, thi Sone, wiche is here imagened, I set betwene the and my euil dedis, and the desert [*merits*] of Jhu Crist I offre for that I shuld haue deseruid, and have nouȝt.

Sey aȝen :

Lord, the deth of oure Lord Jhu Crist the Sone wiche was bore of seint Marie, moder and maiden, I sette betuene me and thi wrath.

And sai :

Into thi handes, Lord, I betake my soule, for thou God of treuthe bouȝtist me.

And sei it threis.

Seint Austin spake to God on this maner :

A, my Lord God, my mercy, my refute, the I desire, to the I fle, I hie to come to the, Lord despice nouȝt me, thow I be wrecched and sinful, but be to me helper in theis my grete nedis, for I may nouȝt helpe, and aȝenbie myself wit my dedis, but thou Lorde hast bouȝt me, thou bring me out of care, and haue mercy on me. I trust nouȝt on my dedis, but despeir of hem; saue ȝit I trust more on thi merciis, than in the dispeir of my wicked dedes. Thou art my hope, thou art my God, thou art ful of mercy, aȝein the I have sinned thorw my grete defaute. I come and knouleche to the, I beseche the of merci, wiche deniest to no man merci.

Supplement to the Two First Volumes.

Supplement.

VOLUME I.

PAGE xij. *l.* 20. "Misit etiam papa Gregorius, Augustino episcopo tunc temporis ab urbe Roma cooperatores ac verbi ministros plures, in quibus erant Mellitus, *etc.* misit et per eos vasa et indumenta, codices, et ornamenta ecclesiis necessaria." H. Huntingdon. *Hist. lib.* iij. *edit.* Savile, *p.* 184. b.

P. xiij. *l.* 12. Bede also in his work, "de remediis peccatorum," *cap.* 1. says: "Nunc ergo, o fratres, qui voluerit sacerdotalem auctoritatem accipere, in primis cogitet propter Deum, et præparet arma ejus, antequam manus episcopi tangat caput, id est, psalterium, lectionarium, antiphonarium, missale, baptisterium, martyrologium, homilias in anni circulo ad prædicationem bonis operibus, et computum cum cyclo, hoc est jus sacerdotum. Postea autem suum pœnitentialem." This work is printed at the end of Augustinus, *Epitome juris pontif.* whose notes should be consulted; and in Wilkins, *tom.* 4. *p.* 751.

P. xiv. *l.* 3. Compare, Wilkins, *tom.* 1. *p.* 628; *tom.* 3. *p.* 61. Annal. Burton. apud Script. Anglic. *tom.* 1. *p.* 318. It was the duty of the archdeacon at his visitation to enquire into this matter: for example, in the year 1291. "Item statuimus, quod archidiaconus, qui secundum apostolum non, quæ sua sunt, quærit, sed quæ Jesu Christi, in sua visitatione provideat,

quod canon missæ emendetur." Wilkins, *Tom.* 2. *p.* 179.

P. xlij. *l.* 28. So another chronicler, either adopting Ralph Higden's statement, or using a common authority, has transcribed the same words. Hen. de Knyghton. *Chron.* Script. x. *tom.* 2. *p.* 2352.

P. xlvij. *l.* 24. There are also MS. copies of the Sarum Ordinal, in the libraries of the dean and chapter of Salisbury; and of Corpus Christi college, Oxford.

P. xlviij. *l.* 6. Among the books formerly belonging to the church of the parish of Dartington, in Devonshire, according to an old inventory preserved among the parish books, were "ij py bokes." There were also at the same time there, "iiij nu portas bokys noted. ij old portas bokys notyd. ij Manuelys. a scnc̃ [?] boke. iij masse bokys. ij graylys. iij P'ssesner bokys. ij ymner bokys be noted." "Item j antyfener. an olde legent. ij sawters." The ordinal was sometimes also called in English, an "ordeorly." See Ellis. *Orig. letters.* 3rd Series, *vol.* 2. *p.* 48.

P. liij. *l.* 5. With much other silver plate and ornaments said to have been given to the abbey of Glastonbury by king Ina, were, "coopertoria librorum Evangelii de xx libris." Malmesbury *de ant. Glaston.* Script. Angl. *tom.* 3. *p.* 311. About the year 1200, in the time of abbot John, there were made for the church of S. Alban, "duo Textus de argento superaurato; in quorum uno crux cum crucifixo, et Maria Johanne figurantur; alio vero Majestas cum quatuor evangelistis, elegantissimis cælaturis insculpitur." Matt. Paris. *Vitæ S. Alb. abbatum.* *p.* 1043.

P. lvij. *l.* 18. Of such a kind probably was the famous psalter of S. Kenelm, concerning which Giraldus relates a miracle, said to have occurred in his own

days: by which the sin of a criminous monk was discovered; "qui die crastino ad processionem psalterium prædictum inter reliquias sanctorum ferre præsumens, completa processionis solemnitate reversus in chorum, idem manibus suis firmiter adhærens deponere non prævaluit." *Itinerarium.* edit. Camden. *p.* 824.

P. lix. *note* 9. Compare the rules laid down by archbishop Winchelsey, as regarded chaplains and assistant priests, in the year 1305: "quod debeant interesse cancello matutinis, vesperis, et aliis divinis officiis, horis debitis, induti superpelliciis, de quibus propriis expensis sibi providebunt." Wilkins. *Concil. tom.* 2. *p.* 281. cf. *tom.* 3. *p.* 214. With regard to the attendance of a clerk, at Divine Service, besides the priests, in even the smallest parishes, this was frequently insisted on: and we find it often specified in the ordinations of vicarages. Cf. Script. x. *tom.* 2. *p.* 2098. 2099. *etc.*

Among the presentments at the visitation of the archdeacon of Colchester, in 1540, was this. "Notatur per rectorem dictæ ecclesiæ, that there is nother clerke, nor sexten, to go withe him in tyme of visitacion, nor to helpe to say masse, nor to rynge to servyce." Archdeacon Hale. *Series of precedents,* &c. N°. cccxlviij. compare N°. cccl.

P. lxxix. *l.* 28. "Forma testamenti." I would insert here the form as it was appointed to be used by curates, when sent for, for that purpose, by their parishioners.

"*Forma testamenti.* In nomine Domini. Amen. Universis præsentes literas inspecturis. Curatus parochialis de — salutem in Domino. Notum facimus quod in nostra præsentia ac testium infra scriptorum ad hoc specialiter vocatorum et rogatorum propter hoc personaliter constitutus honestus vir Petrus .*N.*

clericus parochianus noster, jacens in lecto ægritudinis, infirmus corpore, sanus tamen mente: Attendens et considerans quod vita hominis est brevis super terram; et quod nihil est certius morte, nihil vero incertius ejus hora; cupiens providere saluti animæ suæ, et ad gaudia felicitatis æternæ pervenire: testamentum suum ac suam ejus ultimam voluntatem fecit, et disposuit, in modum et formam sequentem. In primis enim animam suam recommendavit altissimo Deo, creatori suo, dum de corpore exierit, et beatæ Mariæ virgini, totique curiæ cœlesti. Corpus vero suum terræ vermibus, volens illud inhumari in cœmeterio vel ecclesia de dicto ——,, ——. Deinde voluit et ordinavit omnia sua debita solvi: forefacta et male acquisita per eum si quæ sint reddi et restitui locis et personis quibus fuerit faciendum. Item dictus testator de bonis a Deo sibi collatis ob remedium animæ suæ legavit fabricæ vel luminariæ prædictæ ecclesiæ. v. sol. t. Item curato: totidem. Item vicario. xij. d. t. Item clerico. vj. d. t. Item fabricæ ecclesiæ beatæ Mariæ. ij. sol. vj. d. t. Item eleemosynæ ejusdem ecclesiæ. xij. d. t. Item hospitalibus .*N*. cuilibet. vj. d. t. Item conventui fratrum prædicatorum. xij. d. t. Item legavit filiolis, cuilibet xv. d. t. Item confratriæ .N. xij. d. t. Et ad præmissa omnia et singula tenenda dictus testator nominavit executores suos Petrum *N*. ejus patrem, et Nicolaum *N*. ejus fratrem. Quibus executoribus pro præmissis omnibus et singulis adimplendis dictus testator obligavit omnia bona sua quæcunque et ubicunque, revocando omnia alia testamenta si quæ sint alias per eum facta. Volens hoc suum robur obtinere firmitatis melioribus, via, modo, et forma, quibus valere potest et debet. In cujus rei testimonium signum meum manuale ego *N*. præfatus curatus una cum sigillo

prælibatæ parochialis ecclesiæ de ——„—— apposui huic præsenti testamento. Acta fuerunt in domo dicti testatoris, Anno Domini —„— die vero *N.* mensis *N.* præsentibus Johanne *N.* Jacobo *N.* et pluribus aliis testibus ad hoc rogatis et vocatis." *Manuale Sar.* edit. 4to. 1543. *fol.* clxvj.

I extract from the English councils a few canons bearing upon this matter. First of a council at Durham, in the year 1220: "Præcipimus quod laicis frequenter inhibeatur, ne testamenta sua faciant sine præsentia sacerdotis, sicut diligunt, ut eorum ultimæ voluntates adimpleantur. Sacerdotibus similiter inhibemus, ne testamentum suum per manum ordinent laicalem." Wilkins, *tom.* 1. *p.* 583. The synod of Exeter, in 1287, has a long constitution directed to this point, to which I must refer the reader, quoting only its conclusion: "In fine autem cujuslibet testamenti hanc clausulam adjici volumus generalem: Cætera omnia bona mea, sive in rebus, sive in manibus fuerint debitorum, in hoc testamento non expressa, volo, ut pro animæ meæ salute per manus executorum meorum in pios usus distribuantur; et quod creditoribus meis per manus eorundem similiter sit satisfactum." *Ibid. tom.* 2. *p.* 157. Again, shortly after, the 31st canon of a synod of the diocese of Sodor: "Præcipimus et statuimus, quod quilibet languens in extremis agoniis, cum testamentum condere voluerit, vocet capellanum ecclesiæ, et clericum; et ipsis præsentibus, duobus vel tribus viris adhibitis bonis et fide dignis, testamentum suum ore suo ordinet; *etc.*" *Ibid. p.* 179. Compare also the monition of archbishop Bouchier, in 1455; *tom.* 3. *p.* 575, and Lyndwood, *lib.* iii. *tit.* 13. *de testamentis.* The Pupilla Oculi has also a chapter on the same subject. *Pars.* ix. *cap.* viij.

Archbishop Parker records a remarkable and dreadful case of a dean of S. Paul's, and treasurer of the king. He had plundered, it seems; and lying at last on his death bed, he refused to receive the holy Eucharist; putting it off until the morrow. "Interea ad testamentum condendum monitus est. Ad quod paratus, exire, præter unum scriptorem, cæteros voluit. Is testamentum scripturus, expectans quid decanus dictaret, ex more testamentorum sic orsus est; 'In nomine Patris, *etc.*' Quod cum decanus comperisset, iratus jussit id deleri, et hæc verba tantum scribi. 'Lego omnia bona mea domino regi, corpus sepulturæ, et animam diabolo.' Quo dicto expiravit. Rex cadaver illius jussit curru exportari, atque in amnem projici et demergi." *Antiq. Britan. ecc. p.* 228. *ad an.* 1205.

P. cix. *Processions.* The collections of Wilkins contain very many orders for processions, and for various purposes: sometimes for thanksgivings; sometimes to appease the Divine wrath; and for other causes: on these occasions the inferior clergy were generally directed to wear surplices. Not unfrequently the consecrated Eucharist was carried in the procession: as, for example, Walsingham says: "Per idem tempus, [1389], Cantabrigiæ in festo commemorationis S. Pauli, occurrebat et festum dedicationis sanctæ Mariæ ibidem, ad quod festum amplius honorandum, in processione per parochiam deferebatur corpus dominicum, super duos humeros sacerdotum in feretro non ponderoso, *etc.*" *Hist. Angl. p.* 339. Walter de Whytleseye also, mentions among other gifts made by abbot Geoffry to his church of Peterborough, "unum vas argenteum et deauratum ad modum turris

cum lapidibus impressis, et imaginibus sanctorum circumstantibus pro corpore Christi in principalibus festis ante processionem deportandum." *Edit.* Sparkes, *p.* 163. *cf. p.* 170. And once more, the following from Matthew Paris, concerning Simon, abbot of S. Albans, who gave a splendid shrine to his abbey. "Et ad perpetuendam ipsius cum benedictione memoriam, constituit ut in dominica palmarum, corpus Dominicum in ipso scrinio veneranter reponeretur, et ab aliquo fratrum moribus et ætate venerabili, in casula alba usque ad papilionem in cœmeterio de pretiosissimis pallis compositum, nisi inclementia auræ impediatur, et tunc in capitulum deportaretur, duobus fratribus in cappis, brachia bajulantis dictum vas, honorifice sustentantibus. Et eodem modo, sequente processione, ad ecclesiam venerantissime reportaretur." *Vitæ S. Alb. abbatum. p.* 1038.

With regard to the processional banners, which were carried in some solemnities, there is a curious question in some diocesan enquiries, published in the year 1253; "An aliqui laici—decertaverint de præeundo cum vexillis in visitatione matricis ecclesiæ." *Annal. Burton.* Script. Anglic. *tom.* 1. *p.* 324. On some occasions, the maniple was ordered to be worn: I mention this, as the question has been much debated, whether that ornament was to be used at any other office, than the celebration of the Eucharist. Roger Hoveden speaks of a procession appointed, "cum sacerdote induto alba, et manipulo, et stola, et clericis in superpelliciis cum aqua benedicta, et cruce, præcedentibus candelabris, et thuribulo, cum igne, et incenso." *Annal.* edit. Savile, *p.* 348. To walk in processions with bare feet was frequently directed: for example, in the laws of king

Ethelred; "eat omnis presbyter cum populo suo ad processionem tribus diebus nudis pedibus." Bromton. *Chron.* Script. x. *tom.* 1. *p.* 902.

Penances were appointed to be done, in processions: I quote two or three cases, from archdeacon Hale's lately published extracts from the act-books of the ecclesiastical courts of the diocese of London. A. D. 1480. N°. xv. "—penitentia injuncta, quod in toga et camisia, nudis pedibus, precedat crucem processionaliter, cum candela precii unius denarii, et quam offerret processione finita." A. D. 1476. N°. xlj. "Johanna Talbot—habet 3 dominicis precedere processionem nudis pedibus, in kirtela, capite flammiola nodata cooperto, in parochia S. Dionysii." A. D. 1496. N°. ccvj. "— dominus injunxit sibi quod præcedat processionem in ecclesia cath. S. P. sequentem le vergears, crucem ligneam manu ejus deferendam et secularem prædicatorem usque crucem, et ibidem maneat, quousque sermo finetur, crucem hujusmodi manus ejus tenendam." Clergymen also were presented, for neglecting to attend processions: for example. "Clericus parochie ibidem notatur, quod non pergit in processionibus generalibus ut tenetur, juxta antiquum morem." N°. cclj. Compare, N°. ccccx.

A Syon monastery processional is preserved among the manuscripts of S. John's college, Oxford: this volume has English rubrics, for the use of "the sustres."

P. cxix. *l.* 8. There are two imperfect MSS. which contain a few of the episcopal offices: one of these, *Rawlinson*, C. 425, belonged to some abbey: the other, *Rawlinson*, C. 400, is valuable, as it was the property of a bishop of Salisbury, and has a memorandum on the first page. "Hunc librum legavit dominus Rogerus

de Martivale, Sarisbirien. episcopus ecclesiæ cathedrali beatæ Mariæ Sarisbirien. Ita quod loci episcopus, qui pro tempore fuerit, habeat usum ejus si illum habere voluerit, cui tradatur per bonam memorandam, proprietate ipsius penes dictam ecclesiam remanente. Et mortuo quolibet episcopo loci qui ejus usum habuerit, dictæ ecclesiæ fideliter restituatur." Bishop Martivale died in 1329.

The Exeter pontifical (spoken of in the same page) has since been printed by permission of the dean and chapter. I congratulate myself on having been the first to point out its value, and rescue it from the neglect in which it had so long been permitted to remain. It would be well if the edition just published might be useful to the student; but I am bound, however unwillingly, to warn him against relying upon the accuracy of its text: and to acknowledge, that, in my judgment, the care and learning which have been shewn in the performance of the work, scarcely correspond to the zeal, worthy of all praise, which prompted the undertaking.

P. cxxxiv. *note* 30. Compare also, Matt. Paris: "in loco qui fuit inter altare sancti Oswini, ubi scilicet consuevit missa matutinalis celebrari, *etc.*" *Hist. p.* 809. And the chronicle of W. Thorn: "— quod tunc—omni die celebraretur missa matutinalis." *Script. x. tom.* 2. *p.* 1910.

P. cxl. *l.* 3. From a hasty examination, I am inclined to think that a "capitularium" is bound up with a "collectare," among the manuscripts of Corpus Christi college, Oxford. (N°. 192.)

P. cxliij. *l.* 5. Since the two first volumes of this work were published, I have satisfied myself that another book, the "Liber collationum," ought also to be

included among the ancient service books of the church of England. I had not then been able to see any copy of such a volume, or meet with one referred to or even mentioned by any ritualist. A copy however has been found among the MSS. which formerly belonged to Ford abbey, in Devonshire. It is a thick folio, upon vellum, written in a bold hand of the middle of the fifteenth century; and it is remarkable also, as having many English rubrics. It contains the short lections and homilies which were read, at various times of the year, chiefly during Lent, after collation; whence doubtless its name: which in later years came to be used for any sermon or homily.

Du Cange says: "Collatio, apud monachos præsertim, dicitur sacrorum librorum lectio, quæ statis horis, maxime post cœnam, coram iis fiebat:" and he proceeds to cite various orders of foreign councils to this effect. But that these lections, at least in England, were not limited to extracts from sacred writers, is evident from the Ford abbey manuscript, which has also sermons or homilies.

William of Malmesbury, speaking of bishop Wulstan, among other things says: "collationem quoque frequenter interebat." *De gestis pontif. Angl.* edit. Savile, *p.* 159. *b.* About the same time, we learn from Ingulph, that some classes of the monks of Croyland were privileged as regarded the Collation: "omnes de secundo gradu—sint absoluti de lectura martyrologii et collationis in capitulo,—et omnibus talibus minoribus chori et claustri laboribus." *Hist. p.* 105. Once more, there are printed in the *Auctarium*, at the end of the history of Matthew Paris, some monastic or hospital statutes: among them, one, "*de lectione legenda in mensa.* Ut fratres sacerdotes dum in mensa

fuerint consedentes, nedum corporum sed etiam animarum capiant alimenta, præcipimus quod dum fratres sacerdotes in mensa fuerint congregati, legat unus literatus coram eis per aliquod competens temporis spatium, aut de Biblia aut de scriptura sacra alia, lectionem; quem dum in legendo fuerit, fratres silentium tenendo, attente audiant et auscultent." *P.* 1164.

Cardinal Wolsey, in the year 1519, drew up some statutes for the regular canons of S. Augustine: of which one is directed to the collation: Wilkins, *Concil. tom.* 3. *p.* 686. In the royal injunctions of 1536, there is an order referring to "all sermones, and other collations." *Ibid. p.* 814. Again, in the same year, a royal letter to the bishops, commands each "to travel from place to place in all his diocese, and endeavour himself every holiday to make a collation to the people." *Ibid. p.* 825. Once more, the bishop of London, in 1542, admonished his clergy what they were to teach, in their "preachings, open sermons, and collations." *Ibid. p.* 866. I have quoted these, as illustrative of the meaning of the term, down to the period at which it became, in such a sense, obsolete.

Dr. Oliver, in his work, the "Monasticon diœcesis Exoniensis," mentions a manuscript, formerly belonging to the priory of S. Andrew's, Cornwall, containing several books bound together: among them thirty-three homilies, which from the description given by the learned author, seems to have been the "liber collationum" of that priory. He says: "One of these was read at the collation or evening refreshment granted to the community before complin, on most of the weekdays in Lent: viz. from the first Monday until the last Wednesday inclusively; for no collation was allowed on the four first days, nor on the last three

days of that penitential season."[1] *P*. 36. This would certainly account for the number thirty-three in this case; but the use of Ford abbey was different: as they had "collations" not only at other times of the year, as I have already mentioned, but the manuscript contains, "On asche wedensday a collacōn:" followed by, "For the fyrst weke of clene Lent a collacion."

P. cxlix. *l*. 4. White Kennett has plainly confused the two books, in the glossary prefixed to his parochial antiquities. The day of the "obit" was not always the day of the death of the individual, as Dr. Todd has well observed in his learned preface to the Dublin Martyrology, *p*. xxix: whence care must be taken in deciding, on the ground of such entries only, the date of the decease of an individual. Thus in a very early canon, the 17th of the council of Cloveshoo, in 747, we find the day of the burial ordered to be observed as an obit; Wilkins, *concil. tom*. 1. *p*. 97.

The calendars of any service-books, where regular necrologies were not kept, were used for the purpose of entering obits and festivals to be observed. William of Worcester in his Itinerary mentions many such; see, for example, *p*. 107: and numberless manuscripts still extant, prove the same thing. In the very curious inventory printed in the Archæologia, *vol*. 21. of effects belonging to Sir John Fastolfe, in the 15th century, occurs, belonging to his chapel, "j. Morlellege." The editor explains this, in a note, to have been the martyrology; which I much doubt: and

[1] "In more ancient times the lecture was taken from one of the twenty-four *Collationes Patrum*, or conferences of the fathers in the desert, and by degrees the refreshment itself obtained the name of collation." *Ibid.*

should decide it to have been the book of obits, observed in that family. It is scarcely probable that the reading of the martyrology would have formed a part of the services and devotions of a private household.

P. clxx. *l*. 20. In the year 1535, the archbishop of York writes to the king: "Opon good Fridaye last past, I charged the treasorer of Yorke, that he sholde leave ouzt the colett *pro papa*, lykewies I charged the deacon that songe the hymne *Exultet angelica* in the halowinge of the paschall, that he sholde leave ouzt mention therein made *de papa*." Ellis. *Orig. Letters*. 3rd Series. 2. 329.

With respect to the ridiculous citation of archbishop Becket, I must correct an error in the note. (85.) The date which I have ascribed there to a diary, occurs in an official letter from a public officer, Penison, to the prime minister, Cromwell. As to the fact however, I would remark further, that archbishop Parker, a contemporary, appears to have believed it. *De ant. ecc. p*. 209.

In the year 1555, there was published an order by cardinal Pole, that all these rased names should be restored. "Id etiam curent, ut sacrorum canonum instituta in omnibus observentur, et nomen divi Thomæ martyris, necnon sanctissimi domini nostri papæ ex libris dispunctum, in illis restituatur, et pro eo secundum morem ecclesiæ, ut ante schisma fiebat, oretur." Wilkins. *tom*. 4. *p*. 139.

P. clxxviij. *note*. Besides authors, whose prejudices, some might say, led them to condemn the wholesale confiscation by Henry viij th of sacred property, other writers speak no less plainly. Selden condemns it, in his history of tithes, *p*. 471, 486. (*edit*. 1618.) White Kennett also, in his history of Impropriations,

p. 186. 438. and to name no more; in his parochial antiquities, *vol.* 2. *p.* 64. and *p.* 51.

P. clxxxj. *note.* 97. Richard Layton writes thus to Cromwell, in a letter in which he invites him to his house. " Simeon was never so glade to se Chryst his master, as I shalbe to se your Lordeshipe in this your owne house, and all that ever shalbe in hit for my lyffe." *Original letters. series.* 3. *vol.* 3. *p.* 71.

I am not an advocate for the restoration in this country of the old monastic system, and, I confess, regard with some suspicion and dislike the arguments which have, lately, been produced in favour of it. Nor do I wish to varnish over the abuses which prevailed in it, at the beginning of the sixteenth century. But, if we would desire to arrive at a just judgment, as to the state and morals of the monks and nuns of England at that time,—neither listening too much to exaggerated statements of vice and profligacy upon the one hand; nor to flattering descriptions of faultless excellence and purity upon the other;—we must not forget to enquire, as accurately as possible, into the personal character of those witnesses, upon whose evidence mainly, an unqualified condemnation has been pronounced against them.

P. ccvj. *l.* 25. Fonts were ordered to be kept locked: thus; by a constitution of archbishop Edmund, A. D. 1236. " Fontes sub serura clausi teneantur." Concil. *tom.* 1. *p.* 636. In the province of York also, among the necessary furniture of churches, there was ordered in the same century, " fons sacer cum serura." *Ibid. p.* 698. cf. *tom.* 2. *p.* 280. In some churches, the remains of the ancient fastenings may still be seen.

There is an abuse, too generally prevalent in mo-

dern times, upon which I must make a brief remark: namely, that clergymen should suffer a common and small bason to supply the place of a font. It is a fact scarcely credible (remembering the doctrine of the church of England in this matter, and the rubrics of her office of public baptism), that in many churches, of large and populous parishes, there actually is not a font. I cannot conceive a reason, why any person can permit so scandalous an indecency: and it is much to be wished, that the ordinaries both had the power, and would exercise it, of enforcing obedience to the rules of the church in this respect. I would quote one or two directions regarding it, since the reformation. From the "Booke of certaine Canons," in 1571. "They shall see, that in euery churche there be a holy founte, not a basen, wherein Baptisme may be ministred, and it be kept comely and cleane." *Edit.* J. Daye. 4to. Again, the visitation articles of Bancroft, bishop of London, in 1601: "x. Whether doth your parson—— baptize in your parish church or chappel, any infants, not in the fonte, according to the ancient custom, but in a bason?"

I would add here, a rubric, in an early pontifical (imperfect, and apparently English), preserved in the library of the university of Cambridge. (Ll. 2. 10.) After the third dipping; "*Et tertio dicens,* et Spiritus Sancti, Amen. *tunc projiciens eum in fontem discedat: dans locum hominibus eum elevandi de fonte, dicens orationem hanc:* Deus omnipotens, *etc.*"

P. ccix. *l.* 17. Upon this whole subject, the student should consult a work, in which there is much curious learning, by Cangiamila, "Embryologia sacra, sive de officio sacerdotum, medicorum, et aliorum circa æternam parvulorum in utero existentium salutem." *Pa-*

normi. 1758. folio. And Benedict. xiv. *opera. tom.* 12. *p.* 247. *etc. tom.* 11. *p.* 42. Compare, Ellis. *Orig. letters. series.* 3. *vol.* 2. *p.* 226.

P. ccxi. *l.* 10. " Si quis baptizat pro temeritate, non ordinatus, abjiciendus est extra ecclesiam, et nunquam ordinetur." Theodori, *liber pœnit. cap.* 38. 4. I have already made some remarks in other parts of this work, upon the prohibition even to deacons to baptize, except in cases of necessity. There is a remarkable case however, recorded in Matthew Paris: the baptism of prince Edward, eldest son of Henry III. " Carleolensis episcopus infantem catechizavit, legatus eundem baptizavit, licet non esset sacerdos; archiepiscopus autem Cantuariensis ipsum confirmavit." *Hist. p.* 413. The historian expresses his own astonishment at this circumstance.

P. ccxiv. *l.* 28. " in baptisterio." " i. e. loco in ecclesia, ubi fit baptismus. Non enim debes intelligere quod ista lavatio fiat in fonte baptismali, nec de aqua fontis, sed debet fieri in loco ubi scituatur fons, viz. juxta ipsam fontem." Lyndwood. *Lib.* 1. *tit.* 6. Sacerdotis. On the other hand, there is a constitution, in the preceding century, of the diocese of Worcester: " —— qui confirmati fuerint, post triduum portentur ad ecclesiam, in fonte baptismatis abluendi." Concil. *tom.* 1. *p.* 667.

P. ccxxi. *l.* 17. The following is the form of certificate appointed in the Sarum Manuals. " *Forma literæ testimonialis bannorum proclamatorum pro matrimonio contrahendo.* Universis præsentes literas inspecturis, curatus ecclesiæ parochialis de *N.* diœcesis— curato de *N.* ejusdem diœcesis salutem in Domino. Notum facimus quod Richardus *N.* parochianus noster non est in registris nostris aliqua excommunicationis

sententia innodatus. Nec scimus in eo aliquod impedimentum canonicum propter quod ecclesiastica sacramenta sibi debeant denegari, seu etiam retardari. Insuper tria banna per tres dies dominicos, sive festivos solennes, ad solemnizationem matrimonii futuri de ipso cum Margareta *N.* in ecclesia nostra prædicta, palam et publice proclamavimus seu proclamari fecimus: quibus nullus se opposuit seu contradixit. Rogamus igitur discretionem vestram, quatenus dictum *N.* parochianum nostrum cum Margareta *N.* parochiana vestra per verba de præsenti, in ecclesia vestra, vel matrimonialiter copuletis: nisi quod ex parte vestra sit aliquod aliud impedimentum quod obsistat. Et hæc omnibus quorum interest aut interesse poterit in futurum tenore præsentium certificamus. Datum sub sigillo ecclesiæ nostræ præfatæ. Anno, *N.* die, *N.* mensis, *N.*" *Edit.* 1543. 4to. *fol.* clxvij.

P. ccxxiv. *l.* 12. The synod of Exeter, in 1287, specifies the penalty upon neglect. "Quodsi quenquam juvenem vel senem culpa, negligentia, vel absentia sui sacerdotis (quod absit) absque baptismo, confessione, dominici corporis perceptione, ac extrema unctione præveniri morte contigerit; sacerdos super hoc convictus, a celebratione divinorum protinus suspendatur; cujus suspensio minime relaxetur, donec tam grande crimen pœnitentia condigna meruerit expiari." Concil. *tom.* 2. *p.* 135.

P. ccxxviij. *l.* 2. The old histories and chronicles are full of proofs of the popular belief, as regarded the necessity of the viaticum. For example, see Matthew Paris, *pp.* 6. 156. 183. 306. 503. But still it was not believed, or taught, that mere reception of the holy Eucharist, upon a death-bed, was alone sufficient to secure salvation. Arnold, in the curious miscellany

called his chronicle, has an extract which I would quote: concerning a young man, who "was howsled and anelid and soo died, and a fewe daies after he apiered—and seid he was dampned, for he had will if he myght haue lyued to haue turned to his synne ageyn:—therefore, he sayd, alle my confession and all that I did in ressauying my sacramentis, it auayled me not;—for our Lord seyth in the gospel of John, qui manducat et bibit indigne judicium sibi manducat et bibit. *etc.*" *p.* 223.

There are instances in which the term "viaticum" is not to be understood of the last communion of the sick. Thus, in the constitutions of Otho; "Prædictæ vero concubinæ clericorum, ab ingressu ecclesiæ, dum celebrantur divina, penitus arceantur, nec eis paschali tempore tribuatur viaticum, cum judicium sibi manducant et bibunt, qui illud indigne assumunt." Concil. *tom.* 2. *p.* 5. Compare also, the constitutions of archbishop Peckham, *ibid. p.* 52. in which our Blessed Lord is said to have given Himself, "infinito amore, in viaticum ecclesiæ."

During pestilence, permission was sometimes granted, to receive the viaticum at the hands of a deacon: but not extreme unction: "sacramentum eucharistiæ in absentia presbyteri poterit per diaconum ministrari. Si vero non sit presbyter, qui sacramentum unctionis extremæ ministret, debet, sicut in aliis, fides sufficere sacramenti." *Ibid. p.* 746. See above, *p.* cix. and, *vol.* 1. *p.* 89.

The light, so frequently ordered in earlier times, was forbidden in 1549. "Item, that going to the sick with the sacrament the minister have not with him either light or bells." But, in the reign of Q. Mary, the old rules were enjoined once more, as appears from one of cardinal Pole's visitation articles, of 1557: "Whether

the sacrament be carried devoutly to them that fall sick, with light, and with a little sacring bell?" Ibid. *tom.* 4. *p.* 33. 170. Compare the 12th decree of Pole's Reformatio Angliæ.

At the administration of the communion to the sick a candle was to be always lighted, according to some constitutions of the diocese of Sodor, in 1291: and this is a rule which was, I have little doubt, generally observed, as appears from illuminations in manuscripts. "Cum ad infirmos accesserint, moneant eos salubriter, nec aliquos sine candela accensa de cera communicet." Concil. *tom.* 2. 175. Clergy, whilst carrying the Holy Eucharist to the sick, were privileged from arrest; and an infringement of this, formed one of the grounds of complaint of the convocation of 1399. *Ibid. tom.* 3. *p.* 245. Foreign canonists have extended this privilege so far, as to assert that persons might avail themselves of the protection of such a procession: "sacerdos eucharistiam deferens ad se confugientibus asylum præstat." Cf. Devoti. *Instit. Canon. tom.* 2. *p.* 333. Ferrarius. *Bibliotheca. verb.* Immunitas. Giraldus. *Expos. Juris. pontif.* 1. §. 637.

P. ccxxxiv. *l.* 33. From a remark in Matthew Paris, *Hist. p.* 707, it would seem, that after the rite of extreme unction all ornaments were removed from the person: and from the same author, that in some monasteries, certainly in S. Alban's, the sick members were conveyed to the infirmary to receive it. "Sustentantes eum hinc inde fratres, duxerunt eum prout præcepit in infirmariam, ubi solemniter super lapidem ad hoc consuetum, oleo sancto infirmorum est inunctus, et salutis viatico communitus." *p.* 1045.

P. ccxl. *l.* 5. A payment or fee was due for this. Lanfranc says, in an epistle to a bishop of Chichester: "Chrisma tamen a vobis accipiant, et ea, quæ antiqui-

tus instituta sunt, in chrismatis acceptione persolvant." These fees were sometimes granted to the support of monasteries: "ego Ernulphus, episcopus, concessi in perpetuum ad ædificandas et sustentandas domos monachorum, denarios, quos presbyteri parochiani solent reddere, quando chrisma accipiunt." *Textus Roffen. p.* 192: and the same manuscript has an account of the various payments which were to be made by each parish and chapelry in the diocese. *p.* 228. A singular use also appears very anciently to have been made of these periodical attendances upon their diocesan by the parochial clergy. "We enjoin, that every priest be able to declare, when he fetches chrism, what he has done in prayers for king and bishop." Canons under K. Edgar. Thorpe. *vol.* 2. *p.* 259. Probably it was an opportunity for the purpose of making other enquiries, into the condition of the people and clergy. Hence, there were frequent rules passed for the residence of bishops at their cathedrals, on the stated times of the year for the consecration of chrism: compare the Concilia: *tom.* 2. *p.* 10. *tom.* 3. *p.* 613.

Monasteries frequently obtained the privilege of applying to any bishop, (to the prejudice of their diocesan) for chrism. See above, p. cxxvi, and Thorn's chronicle, *Script. x. tom.* 2. *p.* 1835.

P. ccxlj. *l.* 15. The penitential of archbishop Theodore says: "si quis sepulchrum violaverit. vij. annos, iij. in pane et aqua." Thorpe, Anglo-saxon laws. *vol.* 2. *p.* 28. And the excerpts of Egbert add to this rule; "Si clericus in demoliendis sepulchris fuerit deprehensus, a clericatus ordine pro sacrilegio submoveatur." *ibid. p.* 108. In later years, one of the canons under king Edgar, laid upon penitents the especial duty of burying the dead. *ibid. p.* 283. Compare the

laws of Keneth of Scotland, in 840: "Sepulchrum omne sacrum habeto, idque crucis signo adornato, quod ne pede aliquando conculces, caveto." Concil. *tom.* 1. *p.* 180.

In the year 1518, some constitutions of the province of York, reenacting earlier canons, decreed: "Firmiter inhibemus, ne cuiquam communio corporis Christi, vel morienti ecclesiastica sepultura, prætextu cujuslibet debiti, denegetur." Concil. *tom.* 3. *p.* 672.

P. ccxlij. *l.* 4. Among the fragments and capitula of archbishop Theodore, is the following, both interesting and important: "Quæsitum est ab aliquibus fratribus, de his qui in patibulo suspenduntur pro suis sceleribus, post confessionem Deo peractam, utrum cadavera illorum ad ecclesiam deferenda sint, an non?" Thorpe. *vol.* 2. *p.* 73. And it is said, that the Holy Eucharist might be given, but nothing is decided as to burial: unless that might be supposed to follow, after reception of the communion, as a matter of course. Some centuries later, Ælfric, in his homily of "the Greater Litany," laid down more strictly, "the possessions of no sinful man are to be received at his end, nor let his corpse be buried in a holy place." *vol.* 2. *p.* 345.

P. ccxliv. *l.* 29. It was usual to carry lighted candles, before the corpse, to the church; and omens were drawn from their continuing lighted. Many allusions to this occur in the chronicles: I take one from Matthew Paris: upon the burial of an earl of Salisbury, in 1226. "Contigit autem, quod dum de castello ad novam ecclesiam corpus ejus ad tumulandum portaretur, cerei qui cum cruce et thuribulo de more portabantur accensi, inter pluviarum effusiones, et ventorum tur-

bines, lumen continuum in itinere ministrabant; ut aperte ostenderent comitem tam ardue pœnitentem, ad lucis filios pertinere." *Hist. Angl. p.* 277. Compare an order about the funeral taper, in the Concilia, *tom.* 3. *p.* 567.

P. cclv. *l.* 20. There was anciently a small fee attached to the hallowing of water: this was called the "beneficium aquæ benedictæ," and was usually given to some poor scholar or clerk. I have not met with a similar rule in foreign churches; and it seems to have been peculiar to England. Thus it was ordered in some constitutions of the diocese of Salisbury, in 1256: "Personæ vel vicarii dabunt beneficium aquæ benedictæ clerico pauperi scholari, ita quod veniat omnibus solennibus diebus ad ecclesiæ serviendum, de qua habet dictum beneficium. "Concil. *tom.* 1. *p.* 714. This disposal of it was occasionally disputed by the parishioners; and the synod of Exeter, 1287, repeats the order, adding, "si parochiani malitiose subtrahere velint eleemosynas consuetas, ad ipsas sibi largiendas solicite moneantur, et, si necesse fuerit, compellantur." *ibid. tom.* 2. *p.* 147. In a constitution of the diocese of Winchester, in the year 1308, it is spoken of as the "beneficium aquæ portandæ," which, in like manner, is to be applied to the support of poor scholars. *ibid. p.* 297. And from a decree of archbishop Courtney, in 1393, it would seem, that a part of the duties of these "clerici aquæbajuli," was to carry the holy water, into various parts of the neighbouring parishes: and sprinkle houses with it; that is, doubtless, if they were required to do so: as it is plainly expressed in a diocesan canon of the bishop of Coventry, in 1247; "quia plerique scholares carent necessariis, quorum scientia multi per gratiam Dei potuerunt ædificari;

volumus, ut scholares ferant aquam benedictam per villas rurales, si sint qui postulent et indigeant." *ibid. tom.* 1. *p.* 641.

When this office was wisely abolished, at the beginning of the reformation, the unavoidable loss of provision which it occasioned to poor scholars, was made up, or at least it was intended it should be so, from other sources: and among the injunctions published by the king's visitors in 1548, was this; "forasmuch as the parish clerk shall not hereafter go about the parish with his holy water, as hath been accustomed, he shall instead of that labour, accompany the churchwardens," in registering the sums of money collected for the poor. *ibid. tom.* 4. *p.* 29.

P. cclvj. *l.* 12. In limiting the introduction of the use of holy water to the ixth century, I cannot but have been in error: which I am ready to take this opportunity of acknowledging. In the seventh century, archbishop Theodore says, in his penitential: "Aqua benedicta domos suas aspergant, quotiens voluerit, qui habitant in eis. Et quando presbyter consecraverit aquam, primum orationem dicat." Thorpe. *vol.* 2. *p.* 58. And there is a remarkable place in Bede, in an epistle from S. Gregory to Mellitus, where the pope directs the heathen temples to be sprinkled and purified with holy water. *Hist. Ecc. lib.* 1. *cap.* 30.

P. cclx. *l.* 1. That such an abuse prevailed, is clear: and the reader may compare a proclamation, in the year 1538, which, speaking of the holy bread, says, among other things, that it was intended, not to supersede, but "to put us in remembrance of the howsell, which in the beginninge of Christe church men did oftener receive, than they use now to doe." Concil. *tom.* 3. *p.* 842.

P. ccxciv. *l*. 1. Absolution was occasionally granted to persons after death; chiefly, as it would seem, that they might obtain the rites of Christian burial. A commission from the archbishop of Canterbury for this purpose, is printed in the Concilia. A certain man had died excommunicate, and not only an absolution is ordered to be pronounced, but prayers and psalms, usual at such solemnities. What these were, does not appear. *tom*. 2. *p*. 531. This was in the year 1326. Another was granted, in 1369. Also by the archbishop. Some years ago a stone coffin was discovered in the cloisters of Chichester cathedral, and close by it, was found a thin plate of lead, with a form of absolution upon it, granted to Geoffry bishop of Chichester in 1088. Archæol. *vol*. 23. *p*. 419. It is not improbable, that in such cases, of persons absolved from ecclesiastical censures after death, the absolution was buried with them.

P. 42. "*ante ostium ecclesiæ*." It appears almost needless to remind the reader of Chaucer's Wife of Bath:

> " She was a worthy woman all hire live,
> Housbondes at the chirche dore had she had five." *prol*. 461.

And compare the account of the marriage in the merchant's tale:

> " Forth cometh the preest, with stole about his nekke,
> And bade hire be like Sara and Rebekke; *etc*." *l*. 9577.

There is a remarkable passage, in the evidence relating to Sir William Plumpton's second marriage, taken before the Ecclesiastical Court in the year 1472, which shews, that marriages were performed sometimes, not at the door of the church, but at the door of the chancel; that is, I suppose, of the rood-screen.

"Richard Clerk, parish clerk of Knaresborough, deposed—that very early in the morning of the said Friday came the said Sir William and Joan to the parish church of Knaresborough—, and, they standing at the door of the chancel of the said church within the said church, the aforesaid John Brown, [then vicar,] came from the high altar in his vestments and solemnized marriage between them in the presence of the deponent; *etc.*" *Plumpton correspondence. pref. p.* lxxvj.

VOL. II.

P. xxxv. Since the publication of the two first volumes of this work, I have found two other manuscript Prymers. One of these is in the library of Queen's college, Oxford: (S. 20. in arch.) imperfect, of about the year 1420. It has the word "corinnice" in the version of the two psalms, *vol.* 2. *p.* 22: but the "hours of the cross," are in rhyme, thus agreeing with the manuscripts in the Bodleian, and at Cambridge.

The other is in the Ashmolean library at Oxford: No. 1288. which I have not yet had an opportunity to examine. The kindness of a friend enables me to state that its contents are much the same with those of the other copies.

P. xliv. *l*. 10. About the year 1459, a monk at Bolton Abbey is requested in a letter to send a prymer: "as ever I be saved, she praied me write for either salter or primmer." *Plumpton Correspondence. pref. p.* xxxix. In the year 1500, among the presentments to the commissary of the diocese of London, occurs: "Avicia Godfrey notatur officio quod subtraxit quendam librum, vocatum a *premar* Elisabetha Sekett ser-

viente W. Ward extra ecclesiam, *etc.*" *Archdeacon Hale's* Precedents, No. ccxliij. The learned editor seems to have been in error, in stating this to have been a case of "taking a book from the church." I do not remember any example of a prymer, among the service books of a church; nor would there have been any need of such a book, for the purpose of public and general prayer.

P. xlix. *l.* 8. The Prymer was not confined to the Church of England; it was authorised abroad also, for the use of the laity. These books are however of great rarity. The Dutch copies the most frequently occur: and I know one, in French, in a private library. A very remarkable printed Spanish Prymer, (Simon Vostre, 8vo.) has lately been purchased for the library of the British Museum.

Benedictus Dominus Deus: a saeculo et in saeculum.

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30.	*note* 43.	*canum vel* . . .	canum, vel.
179.	*note* 41.	paternam . . .	patenam.
215.	l. 3.	Offert. Exulta .	*Offert.* Exulta.

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